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AN

ESSAY

ON THE

LEARNING OF SHAKSPEARE.

BY

RICHARD FARMER, D. D.

Maſter of EMMANUEL College, CAMBRIDGE, and Principal Librarian of that Univerſity.

☞ Though our commentaries on the following Plays have been enriched by numerous extracts from this celebrated Eſſay, the whole of it is here reprinted. I ſhall hazard no contradiction relative to the value of its contents, when I add—

——*proſunt ſingula, juncta juvant.* STEEVENS.

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION,

1767.

THE author of the following ESSAY was ſolicitous only for the honour of *Shakſpeare:* he hath however, in *his own* capacity, little reaſon to complain of *occaſional* criticks, or criticks *by profeſſion.* The very FEW, who have been pleaſed to controvert any part of his doctrine, have favoured him with better manners, than arguments; and claim his thanks for a further opportunity of demonſtrating the futility of *theoretick* reaſoning againſt *matter of fact.* It is indeed ſtrange, that any *real* friends of our immortal POET ſhould be ſtill willing to force him into a ſituation, which is not tenable: treat him as a *learned* man, and what ſhall excuſe the moſt groſs violations of hiſtory, chronology, and geography?

Οὐ πείσεις, ἢν μὴ πείσῃς is the motto of every *polemick:* like his brethren at the *amphitheatre,* he holds it a merit to *die hard*; and will not ſay, *enough,* though the battle be decided. "Were it ſhewn, (ſays ſome one) that the old bard borrowed *all* his alluſions from *Engliſh* books then publiſhed, our *Engliſh* might have poſſibly eſtabliſhed his ſyſtem."—In good time!——This had ſcarcely been attempted

by *Peter Burman* himſelf, with the library of *Shakſpeare* before him.——" Truly, (as Mr. *Dogberry* ſays,) for *mine own* part, if I were as tedious as a king, I could find in my heart to beſtow it all on this ſubject:" but where ſhould I meet with a reader?—When the main pillars are taken away, the whole building falls in courſe: Nothing hath been, or can be, pointed out, which is not eaſily removed; or rather which was not *virtually* removed before: a very little *analogy* will do the buſineſs. I ſhall therefore have no occaſion to trouble myſelf any further; and may venture to call my pamphlet, in the words of a pleaſant declaimer againſt *ſermons on the thirtieth of January*, " an anſwer to every thing that ſhall hereafter be written on the ſubject."

But " this method of reaſoning will prove any one ignorant of the languages, who hath written when tranſlations were extant."——*Shade* of *Burgerſdicius!*—does it follow, becauſe *Shakſpeare's* early life was incompatible with a courſe of education—whoſe contemporaries, friends and foes, nay, and himſelf likewiſe, agree in his want of what is uſually called *literature*—whoſe miſtakes from equivocal tranſlations, and even typographical errors, cannot poſſibly be accounted for otherwiſe, —that *Locke*, to whom not one of theſe circumſtances is applicable, underſtood no *Greek?*—I ſuſpect, *Rollin's* opinion of our philoſopher was not founded on this argument.

Shakſpeare wanted not the ſtilts of languages to raiſe him above all other men. The quotation from *Lilly* in the *Taming of the Shrew*, if indeed it be his, ſtrongly proves the extent of his reading: had he known *Terence*, he would not have quoted erroneouſly from his *Grammar*. Every one hath met with men in common life, who, according to the language of the *Water-poet*, " got only from *poſſum* to

poſſet," and yet will throw out a line occaſionally from their *Accidence* or their *Cato de Moribus* with tolerable propriety.——If, however, the old editions be truſted in this paſſage, our author's memory ſomewhat failed him in point of *concord*.

The rage of *paralleliſms* is almoſt over, and in truth nothing can be more abſurd. "THIS was ſtolen from *one* claſſick,—THAT from *another*;"—and had I not ſtept in to his reſcue, poor *Shakſpeare* had been ſtript as naked of ornament, as when he firſt *held horſes* at the door of the playhouſe.

The late ingenious and modeſt Mr. *Dodſley* declared himſelf

"Untutor'd in the lore of *Greece* or *Rome*:"

yet let us take a paſſage at a venture from any of *his* performances, and a thouſand to one, it is ſtolen. Suppoſe it be his celebrated compliment to the *ladies*, in one of his earlieſt pieces, *The Toy-ſhop*: "A good wife makes the cares of the world ſit eaſy, and adds a ſweetneſs to its pleaſures; ſhe is a man's beſt companion in proſperity, and his only friend in adverſity; the carefulleſt preſerver of his health, and the kindeſt attendant in his ſickneſs; a faithful adviſer in diſtreſs, a comforter in affliction, and a prudent manager in all his domeſtick affairs." *Plainly*, from a fragment of *Euripides* preſerved by *Stobæus*:

"Γυνὴ γὰρ ἐν κακοῖσι κὴ νόσοις πόσει
"Ηδιςόν ἐςι, δώματ' ἢν οἰκῇ καλῶς,
"Ὀργήν τε πραΰνασα, κὴ δυθυμίας
"Ψυχὴν μεθιςᾶσ'!"——*Par.* 4to. 1623.

Malvolio in the *Twelfth Night* of Shakſpeare hath ſome expreſſions very ſimilar to *Ainaſchar* tin he

Arabian Tales: which perhaps may be sufficient for *some* criticks to prove his acquaintance with *Arabic!*

It seems however, at last, that "*Taste* should determine the matter." This, as Bardolph expresses it, is a *word of exceeding good command*: but I am willing, that the standard itself be somewhat better ascertained before it be opposed to demonstrative evidence.——Upon the whole, I may consider myself as the *pioneer* of the *commentators*: I have removed a deal of *learned rubbish*, and pointed out to them *Shakspeare's* track in the ever-pleasing *paths of nature*. This was necessarily a previous inquiry; and I hope I may assume with some confidence, what one of the first criticks of the age was pleased to declare on reading the former edition, that "The question is *now* for ever decided."

*** I may just remark, lest they be mistaken for *Errata*, that the word *Catherine* in the 45th page is written, according to the old Orthography for *Catharine*; and that the passage in the 48th page is copied from *Upton*, who improperly calls *Horatio* and *Marcellus* in *Hamlet*, "the *Centinels*."

ADVERTISEMENT

PREFIXED TO

THE THIRD EDITION,

1789.

IT may be neceſſary to apologize for the republication of this pamphlet. The fact is, it has been for a good while extremely ſcarce, and ſome mercenary publiſhers were induced by the extravagant price, which it has occaſionally borne, to project a new edition without the conſent of the author.

A few corrections might probably be made, and many additional proofs of the argument have neceſſarily occurred in more than twenty years: ſome of which may be found in the late admirable editions of our POET, by Mr. *Steevens* and Mr. *Reed*.

But, perhaps enough is already ſaid on ſo light a ſubject:—A ſubject, however, which had for a long time pretty warmly divided the criticks upon *Shakſpeare*.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

LEARNING OF SHAKSPEARE:

ADDRESSED TO

JOSEPH CRADOCK, Esq.

"SHAKSPEARE," ſays a brother of the *craft*,[1] "is a vaſt garden of criticiſm:" and certainly no one can be favoured with more weeders *gratis*.

But how often, my dear ſir, are weeds and flowers torn up indiſcriminately?—the ravaged ſpot is replanted in a moment, and a profuſion of critical thorns thrown over it for ſecurity.

"A prudent man, therefore, would not venture his fingers amongſt them."

Be however in little pain for your friend, who regards himſelf ſufficiently to be cautious:—yet he aſſerts with confidence, that no improvement can be expected, whilſt the natural ſoil is miſtaken for a hot-bed, and the natives of the banks of *Avon* are ſcientifically choked with the culture of exoticks.

[1] Mr. Seward, in his Preface to *Beaumont and Fletcher*, 10 Vols. 8vo. 1750.

Thus much for metaphor; it is contrary to the *ſtatute* to fly out ſo early: but who can tell, whether it may not be demonſtrated by ſome critick or other, that a deviation from rule is peculiarly happy in an Eſſay on Shakſpeare!

You have long known my opinion concerning the literary acquiſitions of our immortal dramatiſt; and remember how I congratulated myſelf on my coincidence with the laſt and beſt of his editors. I told you however, that his *ſmall Latin and leſs Greek*[3] would ſtill be litigated, and you ſee very aſſuredly that I was not miſtaken. The trumpet hath been ſounded againſt "the darling project of repreſenting Shakſpeare as one of the illiterate vulgar;" and indeed to ſo good purpoſe, that I would by all means recommend the performer to the army of the *braying faction*, recorded by Cervantes. The teſtimony of his contemporaries is again diſputed; conſtant tradition is oppoſed by flimſy arguments; and nothing is heard, but confuſion and nonſenſe. One could ſcarcely imagine this a topick very likely to inflame the paſſions: it is aſſerted by Dryden, that "thoſe who accuſe him to have wanted learning, give him the greateſt commendation;" yet an attack upon an article of faith hath been uſually received with more temper and complacence, than the unfortunate opinion, which I am about to defend.

But let us previouſly lament with every lover of Shakſpeare, that the queſtion was not fully diſcuſſed

[3] This paſſage of Ben Jonſon, ſo often quoted, is given us in the admirable preface to the late edition, with a various reading, "ſmall Latin and *no* Greek," which hath been held up to the publick for a modern ſophiſtication: yet whether an error or not, it was adopted above a century ago by W. Towers, in a panegyrick on Cartwright. His eulogy, with more than fifty others, on this now forgotten poet, was prefixed to the edit. 1651.

by Mr. Johnſon himſelf: what he ſees intuitively, others muſt arrive at by a ſeries of proofs; and I have not time to *teach* with preciſion: be contented therefore with a few curſory obſervations, as they may happen to ariſe from the chaos of papers, you have ſo often laughed at, "a ſtock ſufficient to ſet up an *editor in form.*" I am convinced of the ſtrength of my cauſe, and ſuperior to any little advantage from ſophiſtical arrangements.

General poſitions without proofs will probably have no great weight on either ſide, yet it may not ſeem fair to ſuppreſs them: take them therefore as their authors occur to me, and we will afterward proceed to particulars.

The teſtimony of Ben. ſtands foremoſt; and ſome have held it ſufficient to decide the controverſy: in the warmeſt panegyrick, that ever was written, he apologizes[4] for what *he* ſuppoſed the only defect in his "beloved friend,—

'———————Soul of the age!
'Th' applauſe! delight! the wonder of our ſtage!—'

whoſe memory he honoured almoſt to idolatry:" and conſcious of the worth of ancient literature, like any other man on the ſame occaſion, he rather carries his acquirements *above*, than *below* the truth. "Jealouſy!" cries Mr. Upton; "people will allow others any qualities, but thoſe upon which they highly value *themſelves.*" Yes, where there *is* a competition, and the competitor formidable: but, I think, this critick himſelf hath ſcarcely ſet in oppoſition the learning of Shakſpeare and Jonſon. When a ſuperiority is univerſally granted, it by no means appears a man's literary intereſt to depreſs the reputation of his antagoniſt.

[4] "*Though* thou hadſt *ſmall Latin*," &c.

In truth the received opinion of the pride and malignity of Jonſon, at leaſt in the earlier part of life, is abſolutely groundleſs: at this time ſcarce a play or a poem appeared without Ben's encomium, from the original Shakſpeare to the tranſlator of Du Bartas.

But Jonſon is by no means our only authority. Drayton the countryman and acquaintance of Shakſpeare, determines his excellence to the *naturall braine*[5] only. Digges, a wit of the town before our poet left the ſtage, is very ſtrong to the purpoſe,

> " —— Nature only helpt him, for looke thorow
> " This whole book, thou ſhalt find he doth not borow,
> " One phraſe from Greekes, not Latines imitate,
> " Nor once from vulgar languages tranſlate."[6]

Suckling oppoſed his *eaſier ſtrain* to the *ſweat of the learned Jonſon*. Denham aſſures us, that all he had was from *old mother-wit*. *His native wood-notes wild*, every one remembers to be celebrated by Milton. Dryden obſerves prettily enough, that "he wanted not the ſpectacles of books to read nature." He came out of her hand, as ſome one elſe expreſſes it, like *Pallas* out of *Jove's* head, at full growth and mature.

The ever memorable Hales of Eton, (who, notwithſtanding his epithet, is, I fear, almoſt forgotten,) had too great a knowledge both of Shakſpeare and the ancients to allow much acquaintance between them: and urged very juſtly on the part of genius

[5] In his *Elegie on Poets and Poeſie*, p. 206. Folio, 1627.

[6] From his *Poem upon Maſter William Shakſpeare*, intended to have been prefixed, with the other of his compoſition, to the folio of 1623: and afterward printed in ſeveral miſcellaneous collections: particularly the ſpurious edition of *Shakſpeare's Poems*, 1640. Some account of him may be met with in *Wood's Athenæ*.

in oppoſition to pedantry, that "if he had not *read* the claſſicks, he had likewiſe not *ſtolen* from them; and if any topick was produced from a poet of antiquity he would undertake to ſhow ſomewhat on the ſame ſubject, at leaſt as well written by Shakſpeare."

Fuller a diligent and equal ſearcher after truth and quibbles, declares poſitively, that "his learning was very little,—*nature* was all the *art* uſed upon him, as *he himſelf*, if alive, would confeſs." And may we not ſay, he did confeſs it, when he apologized for his *untutored lines* to his noble patron the Earl of Southampton?—this liſt of witneſſes might be eaſily enlarged; but I flatter myſelf, I ſhall ſtand in no need of ſuch evidence.

One of the firſt and moſt vehement aſſertors of the learning of Shakſpeare, was the editor of his poems, the well-known Mr. Gildon;[7] and his ſteps were moſt punctually taken by a ſubſequent labourer in the ſame department, Dr. Sewell.

Mr. Pope ſuppoſed "little ground for the common opinion of his want of learning:" once indeed he made a proper diſtinction between *learning* and *languages*, as I would be underſtood to do in my title-page; but unfortunately he forgot it in the courſe of his diſquiſition, and endeavoured to perſuade himſelf that Shakſpeare's acquaintance

[7] Hence perhaps the *ill-ſtarr'd rage* between this critick and his elder brother, John Dennis, ſo pathetically lamented in the *Dunciad*. Whilſt the former was perſuaded, that "the man who doubts of the learning of Shakſpeare, hath none of his own:" the latter, above regarding the attack in his *private* capacity, declares with great patriotick vehemence, that "he who allows Shakſpeare had learning, and a familiar acquaintance with the ancients, ought to be looked upon as a detractor from the glory of Great Britain." Dennis was expelled his college for attempting to ſtab a man in the dark: Pope would have been glad of this anecdote.

with the ancients might be actually proved by the ſame medium as Jonſon's.

Mr. Theobald is " very unwilling to allow him ſo poor a ſcholar, as many have laboured to repreſent him;" and yet is " cautious of declaring too poſitively on the other ſide of the queſtion."

Dr. Warburton hath expoſed the weakneſs of ſome arguments from *ſuſpected* imitations; and yet offers others, which, I doubt not, he could as eaſily have refuted.

Mr. Upton wonders " with what kind of reaſoning any one could be ſo far impoſed upon, as to imagine that Shakſpeare had no learning;" and laſhes with much zeal and ſatisfaction " the pride and pertneſs of dunces, who, under ſuch a name would gladly ſhelter their own idleneſs and ignorance."

He, like the learned knight, at every anomaly in grammar or metre,

> " Hath hard words ready to ſhow why,
> " And tell what *rule* he did it by."

How would the old bard have been aſtoniſhed to have found, that he had very ſkilfully given the *trochaic dimeter brachycataleƈtic*, COMMONLY called the *ithyphallic* meaſure to the Witches in *Macbeth!* and that now and then a halting verſe afforded a moſt beautiful inſtance of the *pes proceleuſmaticus!*

" But, continues Mr. Upton, it was a learned age; Roger Aſcham aſſures us, that Queen Elizabeth read more Greek every day, than ſome *dignitaries* of the church did Latin in a whole week." This appears very probable; and a pleaſant proof it is of the general learning of the times, and of Shakſpeare in particular. I wonder, he did not corroborate it with an extract from her injunctions to her clergy, that " ſuch as were but *mean readers*

ſhould peruſe over before, once or twice, the chapters and homilies, to the intent they might read to the better underſtanding of the people."

Dr. Grey declares, that Shakſpeare's knowledge in the Greek and Latin tongues cannot *reaſonably* be called in queſtion. Dr. Dodd ſuppoſes it proved, that he was not ſuch a novice in learning and antiquity as *ſome people* would pretend. And to cloſe the whole, for I ſuſpect you to be tired of quotation, Mr. Whalley, the ingenious editor of Jonſon, hath written a piece expreſsly on this ſide the queſtion: perhaps from a very excuſable partiality, he was willing to draw Shakſpeare from the field of nature to claſſick ground, where alone, he knew, his author could poſſibly cope with him.

Theſe criticks, and many others their coadjutors, have ſuppoſed themſelves able to trace Shakſpeare in the writings of the ancients; and have ſometimes perſuaded us of their own learning, whatever became of their author's. Plagiariſms have been diſcovered in every natural deſcription and every moral ſentiment. Indeed by the kind aſſiſtance of the various *Excerpta*, *Sententiæ*, and *Flores*, this buſineſs may be effected with very little expence of time or ſagacity; as Addiſon hath demonſtrated in his comment on *Chevy-chaſe*, and Wagſtaff on *Tom Thumb*; and I myſelf will engage to give you quotations from the elder Engliſh writers (for to own the truth, I was once idle enough to collect ſuch,) which ſhall carry with them at leaſt an equal degree of ſimilarity. But there can be no occaſion of waſting any future time in this department: the world is now in poſſeſſion of the *Marks of Imitation*.

"Shakſpeare however hath frequent alluſions to the *facts* and *fables* of antiquity." Granted:—and as Mat. Prior ſays, to ſave the effuſion of more

Chriſtian ink, I will endeavour to ſhow, how they came to his acquaintance.

It is notorious, that much of his *matter of fact* knowledge is deduced from Plutarch: but in what language he read him, hath yet been the queſtion. Mr. Upton is pretty confident of his ſkill in the original, and corrects accordingly the *errors of his copyiſts* by the Greek ſtandard. Take a few inſtances, which will elucidate this matter ſufficiently.

In the third act of *Antony and Cleopatra*, Octavius repreſents to his courtiers the imperial pomp of thoſe illuſtrious lovers, and the arrangement of their dominion,

" ——————————— Unto her
" He gave the 'ſtabliſhment of Egypt, made her
" Of lower Syria, Cyprus, *Lydia*,
" Abſolute queen."

Read *Libya*, ſays the critick *authoratively*, as is plain from *Plutarch*, Πρώτην μὲν ἀπέφηνε Κλεοπάτραν βασίλισσαν Αἰγύπτȣ καὶ Κύπρȣ καὶ ΛΙΒΥΗΣ, καὶ κοίλης Συρίας.

This is very true: Mr. Heath [8] accedes to the correction, and Mr. Johnſon admits it into the text: but turn to the tranſlation, from the French of Amyot, by Thomas North, in folio, 1579,[9] and you will at once ſee the origin of the miſtake.

[8] It is extraordinary, that this gentleman ſhould attempt ſo voluminous a work, as the *Reviſal of Shakſpeare's Text*, when, he tells us in his Preface, " he was not ſo fortunate as to be furniſhed with either of the *folio* editions, much leſs any of the ancient *quartos*:" and even Sir Thomas Hanmer's performance was known to him only by Mr. Warburton's repreſentation."

[9] I find the character of this work pretty early delineated:
" 'Twas Greek at firſt, that Greek was Latin made,
" That Latin, French; that French to Engliſh ſtraid:
" Thus 'twixt one Plutarch there's more difference,
" Than i'th' ſame Engliſhman return'd from France."

" Firſt of all he did eſtabliſh Cleopatra queene of Ægypt, of Cyprus, of *Lydia*, and the lower Syria."

Again, in the fourth act:

" ——————— My meſſenger
" He hath whipt with rods, dares me to perſonal combat,
" Cæſar to Antony. Let th' old ruffian know
" I have many other ways to die; mean time
" Laugh at his challenge.——"

" What a reply is this?" cries Mr. Upton, " 'tis acknowledging he ſhould fall under the unequal combat. But if we read,

' ——— Let the old ruffian know
' *He* hath many other ways to die; mean time
' *I* laugh at his challenge.——'

we have the poignancy and the very repartee of Cæſar in Plutarch."

This correction was firſt made by Sir Thomas Hanmer, and Mr. Johnſon hath received it. Moſt indiſputably it is the ſenſe of Plutarch, and given ſo in the modern tranſlation: but Shakſpeare was misled by the ambiguity of the old one: " Antonius ſent again to challenge Cæſar to fight him: Cæſar anſwered, That *he* had many other ways to die, than ſo."

In the third act of *Julius Cæſar*, Antony, in his well-known harangue to the people, repeats a part of the emperor's will:

" —— To every Roman citizen he gives,
" To every ſev'ral man, ſeventy-five drachmas.——
" Moreover he hath left you all his walks,
" His private arbours, and new-planted orchards,
" On *this* ſide Tiber.——"

" Our author certainly wrote," ſays Mr. Theobald,—" On *that* ſide Tiber—

' *Trans* Tiberim—prope Cæſaris hortos.'

And Plutarch, whom Shakſpeare very diligently ſtudied, expreſsly declares, that he left the publick his gardens and walks, πέραν τῦ Ποταμῦ, *beyond* the *Tyber*."

This emendation likewiſe hath been adopted by the ſubſequent editors; but hear again the old tranſlation, where Shakſpeare's *ſtudy* lay: "He bequeathed unto every citizen of Rome ſeventy-five drachmas a man, and he left his gardens and arbours unto the people, which he had on *this* ſide of the river of Tyber." I could furniſh you with many more inſtances, but theſe are as good as a thouſand.

Hence had our author his characteriſtick knowledge of Brutus and Antony, upon which much argumentation for his learning hath been founded: and hence *literatim* the epitaph on Timon, which it was once preſumed, he had corrected from the blunders of the Latin verſion, by his own ſuperior knowledge of the original.[a]

I cannot however omit a paſſage from Mr. Pope. "The *ſpeeches* copied from Plutarch in *Coriolanus* may, I think, be as well made an inſtance of the learning of Shakſpeare, as thoſe copy'd from Cicero in *Catiline*, of Ben Jonſon's." Let us inquire into this matter, and tranſcribe a *ſpeech* for a ſpecimen. Take the famous one of Volumnia:

"Should we be ſilent and not ſpeak, our raiment
"And ſtate of bodies would bewray what life
"We've led ſince thy exile. Think with thyſelf,
"How more unfortunate than all living women
"Are we come hither; ſince thy fight, which ſhould
"Make our eyes flow with joy, hearts dance with comforts,
"Conſtrains them weep, and ſhake with fear and ſorrow;
"Making the mother, wife, and child to ſee
"The ſon, the huſband, and the father tearing

[a] See Theobald's Preface to *King Richard II.* 8vo. 1720.

" His country's bowels out: and to poor we
" Thy enmity's moſt capital; thou barr'ſt us
" Our prayers to the gods, which is a comfort
" That all but we enjoy. For how can we,
" Alas! how can we, for our country pray,
" Whereto we're bound, together with thy victory,
" Whereto we're bound? Alack! or we muſt loſe
" The country, our dear nurſe; or elſe thy perſon,
" Our comfort in the country. We muſt find
" An eminent calamity, though we had
" Our wiſh, which ſide ſhou'd win. For either thou
" Muſt, as a foreign recreant, be led
" With manacles thorough our ſtreets; or elſe
" Triumphantly tread on thy country's ruin,
" And bear the palm, for having bravely ſhed
" Thy wife and children's blood. For myſelf, ſon,
" I purpoſe not to wait on fortune, till
" Theſe wars determine: if I can't perſuade thee
" Rather to ſhow a noble grace to both parts,
" Than ſeek the end of one; thou ſhalt no ſooner
" March to aſſault thy country, than to tread
" (Truſt to't, thou ſhalt not,) on thy mother's womb,
" That brought thee to this world."

I will now give you the old tranſlation, which ſhall effectually confute Mr. Pope: for our author hath done little more, than thrown the very words of North into blank verſe:

" If we helde our peace (my ſonne) and determined not to ſpeake, the ſtate of our poore bodies, and preſent ſight of our rayment, would eaſely bewray to thee what life we haue led at home, ſince thy exile and abode abroad. But thinke now with thy ſelfe, howe much more unfortunately, then all the women liuinge we are come hether, conſidering that the ſight which ſhould be moſt pleaſaunt to all other to beholde, ſpitefull fortune hath made moſt fearfull to us: making my ſelfe to ſee my ſonne, and my daughter here, her huſband, beſieging the walles of his natiue countrie. So as that which is the only comfort to all other in their

adverſitie and miſerie, to pray unto the goddes, and to call to them for aide; is the onely thinge which plongeth us into moſt deepe perplexitie. For we cannot (alas) together pray, both for victorie, for our countrie, and for ſafety of thy life alſo: but a worlde of grievous curſes, yea more than any mortall enemie can heappe uppon us, are forcibly wrapt up in our prayers. For the bitter ſoppe of moſt harde choyce is offered thy wife and children, to foregoe the one of the two: either to loſe the perſone of thy ſelfe, or the nurſe of their natiue contrie. For my ſelfe (my ſonne) I am determined not to tarrie, till fortune in my life time doe make an ende of this warre. For if I cannot perſuade thee, rather to doe good unto both parties, then to ouerthrowe and deſtroye the one, preferring loue and nature before the malice and calamitie of warres: thou ſhalt ſee, my ſonne, and truſt unto it, thou ſhalt no ſoner marche forward to aſſault thy countrie, but thy foote ſhall tread upon thy mother's wombe, that brought thee firſt into this world."

The length of this quotation will be excuſed for its curioſity; and it happily wants not the aſſiſtance of a comment. But matters may not always be ſo eaſily managed:—a plagiariſm from *Anacreon* hath been detected.

" The ſun's a thief, and with his great attraction
" Robs the vaſt ſea. The moon's an arrant thief,
" And her pale fire ſhe ſnatches from the ſun.
" The ſea's a thief, whoſe liquid ſurge reſolves
" The moon into ſalt tears. The earth's a thief,
" That feeds and breeds by a compoſture ſtol'n
" From gen'ral excrement: each thing's a thief."

" This (ſays Dr. Dodd) is a good deal in the manner of the celebrated *drinking Ode*, too well known to be inſerted." Yet it may be alledged by thoſe, who imagine Shakſpeare to have been

generally able to think for himſelf, that the topicks are obvious, and their application is different.—But for argument's ſake, let the parody be granted; and "our author (ſays ſome one) may be puzzled to prove, that there was a Latin tranſlation of Anacreon at the time Shakſpeare wrote his *Timon of Athens.*" This challenge is peculiarly unhappy: for I do not at preſent recollect any *other claſſick*, (if indeed, with great deference to Mynheer De Pauw, Anacreon may be numbered amongſt them,) that was *originally* publiſhed with *two* Latin[3] tranſlations.

But this is not all. Puttenham in his *Arte of Engliſh Poeſie*, 1589, quotes ſome one of a "reaſonable good facilitie in tranſlation, who finding *certaine* of Anacreon's Odes very well tranſlated by Ronſard the French poet—comes our minion, and tranſlates the ſame out of French into Engliſh:" and his ſtrictures upon him evince the publication. Now this identical ode is to be met with in Ronſard! and as his works are in few hands, I will take the liberty of tranſcribing it:

"La terre les eaux va boivant,
"L' arbre la boit par ſa racine,
"La mer ſalee boit le vent,
"Et le ſoleil boit la marine.
"Le ſoleil eſt beu de la lune,
"Tout boit ſoit en haut ou en bas:
"Suivant ceſte reigle commune,
"Pourquoy donc ne boirons-nous pas?"

Edit. Fol. p. 507.

[3] By Henry Stephens and Elias Andreas, Par. 1554. 4to. ten years before the birth of Shakſpeare. The former verſion hath been aſcribed without reaſon to John Dorat. Many other tranſlators appeared before the end of the century: and particularly the ode in queſtion was made popular by Buchanan, whoſe pieces were ſoon to be met with in almoſt every modern language.

I know not whether an obſervation or two relative to our author's acquaintance with Homer, be worth our inveſtigation. The ingenious Mrs. Lenox obſerves on a paſſage of *Troilus and Creſſida*, where Achilles is rouſed to battle by the death of Patroclus, that Shakſpeare muſt *here* have had the *Iliad* in view, as "the old ſtory,[4] which in many places he hath faithfully copied, is abſolutely ſilent with reſpect to this circumſtance."

And Mr. Upton is poſitive that the *ſweet oblivious antidote*, inquired after by Macbeth, could be nothing but the *nepenthe* deſcribed in the *Odyſſey*,

"Νηπενθές τ' ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθον ἁπάντων."

I will not inſiſt upon the tranſlations by Chapman; as the firſt editions are without date, and it may be difficult to aſcertain the exact time of their publication. But the *former* circumſtance might have been learned from Alexander Barclay;[5] and the *latter* more fully from Spenſer,[6] than from Homer himſelf.

"But Shakſpeare" perſiſts Mr. Upton, "hath

[4] It was originally *drawn into Engliſhe* by Caxton under the name of *The Recuyel of the Hiſtoryes of Troy, from the Frenche of the ryght venerable Perſon and worſhipfull man Raoul le Feure, and fynyſhed in the holy citye of Colen, the 19 day of Septembre, the yere of our Lord God, a thouſand foure hundred ſixty and enleuen.* Wynkyn de Worde printed an edit. fol. 1503, and there have been ſeveral ſubſequent ones.

[5] "Who liſt thiſtory of Patroclus to reade," &c.
Ship of Fooles, 1570, p. 21.

[6] "Nepenthe is a drinck of ſoueragne grace,
"Deuized by the gods, for to aſſwage
"Harts grief, and bitter gall away to chace—
"Inſtead thereof ſweet peace and quietage
"It doth eſtabliſh in the troubled mynd," &c.
Faerie Queene, 1596, Book IV. c. iii. ſt. 43.

ſome *Greek expreſſions.*" Indeed!—" We have one in *Coriolanus:*

> ' ——————————— It is held
> ' That valour is the chiefeſt virtue, and
> ' Moſt dignifies the *haver.*'

and another in *Macbeth*, where Banquo addreſſes the *weird ſiſters:*

> ' ——————————— My noble partner
> ' You greet with preſent grace, and great prediction
> ' Of noble *having.*'

Gr. Ἔχεια.—and πρὸς τὸν Ἔχοντα, to the *haver.*"

This was the common language of Shakſpeare's time. " Lye in a water-bearer's houſe!" ſays Maſter Mathew of Bobadil, " a gentleman of his *havings!*"

Thus likewiſe John Davies in his *Pleaſant Deſcant upon Engliſh Proverbs*, printed with his *Scourge of Folly*, about 1612:

> " *Do well and have well!*—neyther ſo ſtill:
> " For ſome are good *doers*, whoſe *havings* are ill."

and Daniel the hiſtorian uſes it frequently. *Having* ſeems to be ſynonymous with *behaviour* in Gawin Douglas[7] and the elder Scotch writers.

Haver, in the ſenſe of *poſſeſſor*, is every where met with: though unfortunately the πρὸς τὸν Ἔχοντα of Sophocles produced as an authority for it, is

[7] It is very remarkable, that the biſhop is called by his countryman, Sir David Lindſey, in his *Complaint of our Souerane Lordis Papingo*,

" In *our Inglifche* rethorick the roſe."

And Dunbar hath a ſimilar expreſſion in his beautiful poem of *The Goldin Terge.*

ſuſpected by Kuſter,[8] as good a critick in theſe matters, to have abſolutely a different meaning.

But what ſhall we ſay to the learning of the Clown in Hamlet, "Ay, tell me that, and *unyoke?*" alluding to the Βυλυτὸς of the Greeks: and Homer and his ſcholiaſt are quoted accordingly!

If it be not ſufficient to ſay, with Dr. Warburton, that the phraſe might have been taken from huſbandry, without much depth of reading; we may produce it from a *Dittie* of the workmen of Dover, preſerved in the additions to *Holinſhed*, p. 1546:

"My bow is broke, I would *unyoke*,
"My foot is ſore, I can worke no more."

An expreſſion of my Dame Quickly is next faſtened upon, which you may look for in vain in the modern text; ſhe calls ſome of the pretended fairies in *The Merry Wives of Windſor:*

"—— *Orphan*[9] heirs of fixed Deſtiny."

"And how elegant is this," quoth Mr. Upton, ſuppoſing the word to be uſed, as a Grecian would

[8] *Ariſtophanis* Comœdiæ undecim. Gr. & Lat. *Amſt.* 1710. Fol. p. 596.

[9] Dr. Warburton corrects *orphan* to *ouphen*; and not without plauſibility, as the word *ouphes* occurs both before and afterward. But I fancy, in acquieſcence to the vulgar doctrine, the addreſs in this line is to a part of the *troop*, as mortals by birth, but adopted by the fairies: *orphans* with reſpect to their *real* parents, and now only dependant on *Deſtiny* herſelf. A few lines from Spenſer will ſufficiently illuſtrate the paſſage:

"The man whom *heauens* have *ordayn'd* to bee
"The ſpouſe of *Britomart*, is *Arthegall:*
"He wonneth in the land of *fayeree*,
"Yet is no *fary* borne, ne ſib at all
"To elfes, but ſprong of ſeed terreſtriall,
"And whilome by falſe *faries* ſtolen away,
"Whyles yet in infant cradle he did crall," &c.
Edit. 1590, Book III. c. iii. ſt. 26.

have uſed it? "ὀρφανὸς ab ὀρφνὸς—acting in darkneſs and obſcurity."

Mr. Heath aſſures us, that the bare mention of ſuch an interpretation, is a ſufficient refutation of it: and his critical word will be rather taken in Greek than in Engliſh: in the ſame hands therefore I will venture to leave all our author's knowledge of the *old comedy*, and his etymological learning in the word, *Deſdemona*.[2]

Surely poor Mr. Upton was very little acquainted with *fairies*, notwithſtanding his laborious ſtudy of Spenſer. The laſt authentick account of them is from our countryman William Lilly;[3] and it by no means agrees with the *learned* interpretation: for the *angelical creatures* appeared in his *Hurſt* wood in a *moſt illuſtrious glory*,—" and indeed, (ſays the ſage,) it is not given to many perſons to endure their *glorious aſpects*."

The only uſe of tranſcribing theſe things, is to ſhew what abſurdities men for ever run into, when they lay down an hypotheſis, and afterward ſeek for arguments in the ſupport of it. What elſe could induce this man, by no means a bad ſcholar, to doubt whether *Truepenny* might not be derived from Τρύπανον; and quote upon us with much parade an old ſcholiaſt on Ariſtophanes?—I will not ſtop to confute him: nor take any notice of two or three more expreſſions, in which he was pleaſed to ſuppoſe ſome learned meaning or other; all which he might have found in every writer of the time, or ſtill more eaſily in the vulgar tranſlation of the Bible, by conſulting the Concordance of Alexander Cruden.

[2] *Reviſal*, p. 75, 323, and 561.

[3] *Hiſtory of his Life and Times*, p. 102, preſerved by his dupe, Mr. Aſhmole.

But whence have we the plot of *Timon*, except from the Greek of Lucian?—The editors and criticks have been never at a greater loſs than in their enquiries of this ſort; and the ſource of a tale hath been often in vain ſought abroad, which might eaſily have been found at home: my good friend, the very ingenious editor of the *Reliques of Ancient Engliſh Poetry*, hath ſhewn our author to have been ſometimes contented with a legendary *ballad*.

The ſtory of the *miſanthrope* is told in almoſt every collection of the time; and particularly in two books, with which Shakſpeare was intimately acquainted; the *Palace of Pleaſure*, and the *Engliſh Plutarch*. Indeed from a paſſage in an old play, called *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, I conjecture that he had before made his appearance on the ſtage.

Were this a proper place for ſuch a diſquiſition, I could give you many caſes of this kind. We are ſent for inſtance to Cinthio for the plot of *Meaſure for Meaſure*, and Shakſpeare's judgement hath been attacked for ſome deviations from him in the conduct of it: when probably all he knew of the matter was from madam Iſabella in the *Heptameron* of Whetſtone.[4] *Arioſto* is continually quoted for the fable of *Much ado about nothing*; but I ſuſpect our poet to have been ſatisfied with the *Geneura* of Turberville.[5] *As you like it* was *certainly borrowed*, if we believe Dr. Grey, and Mr. Upton, from the

[4] Lond. 4to. 1582. She *reports* in the fourth dayes exerciſe, the rare *Hiſtorie of Promos and Caſſandra*. A marginal note informs us, that Whetſtone was the author of the *Commedie* on that ſubject; which likewiſe might have fallen into the hands of Shakſpeare.

[5] "The tale is a pretie comicall matter, and hath bin written in Engliſh verſe ſome few years paſt, learnedly and with good grace, by M. George Turberuil." Harrington's *Arioſto*, fol. 1591, p. 39.

Cokè's Tale of Gamelyn; which by the way was not *printed* till a century afterward: when in truth the old bard, who was no hunter of MSS. contented himſelf ſolely with Lodge's *Roſalynd*, or Euphues' *Golden Legacye*, quarto, 1590. The ſtory of *All's well that ends well*, or, as I ſuppoſe it to have been ſometimes called, *Love's Labour Wonne*,[6] is originally indeed the property of Boccace,[7] but it came immediately to Shakſpeare from Painter's *Giletta of Narbon*.[8] Mr. Langbaine could not conceive, whence the ſtory of *Pericles* could be taken, "not meeting in hiſtory with any ſuch *Prince of Tyre*;" yet his legend may be found at large in old Gower, under the name of *Appolynus*.[9]

Pericles is one of the plays omitted in the latter editions, as well as the early folios, and not improperly; though it was publiſhed many years before the death of Shakſpeare, with his name in the title-page. Aulus Gellius informs us, that ſome plays are aſcribed abſolutely to Plautus, which he

[6] See Meres's *Wits Treaſury*, 1598, p. 282.

[7] Our ancient poets are under greater obligations to Boccace, than is generally imagined. Who would ſuſpect, that Chaucer hath borrowed from an Italian the facetious tale of the *Miller of Trumpington*?

Mr. Dryden obſerves on the epick performance, *Palamon and Arcite*, a poem little inferior in his opinion to the *Iliad* or the *Æneid*, that the name of its author is wholly loſt, and Chaucer is now become the original. But he is miſtaken: this too was the work of Boccace, and printed at Ferrara in folio, *con il commento di Andrea Baſſi*, 1475. I have ſeen a copy of it, and a tranſlation into modern Greek, in the noble library of the very learned and communicative Dr. Aſkew.

It is likewiſe to be met with in old French, under the title of *La Theſeide* de Jean Boccace, contenant les belles & chaſtes amours de deux jeunes Chevaliers Thebains *Arcite & Palemon*.

[8] In the firſt Vol. of the *Palace of Pleaſure*, 4to. 1566.

[9] *Confeſſio Amantis*, printed by T. Berthelet, fol. 1532, p. 175, &c.

only *re-touched* and *poliſhed*; and this is undoubtedly the caſe with our author likewiſe. The revival of this performance, which Ben Jonſon calls *ſtale* and *mouldy*, was probably his earlieſt attempt in the drama. I know, that another of theſe diſcarded pieces, *The Yorkſhire Tragedy*, hath been frequently called ſo; but moſt certainly it was not written by our poet at all: nor indeed was it printed in his life-time. The fact on which it is built, was perpetrated no ſooner than 1604:[2] much too late for ſo mean a performance from the hand of Shakſpeare.

Sometimes a very little matter detects a forgery. You may remember a play called *The Double Falſhood*, which Mr. Theobald was deſirous of palming upon the world for a poſthumous one of Shakſpeare: and I ſee it is claſſed as ſuch in the laſt edition of the Bodleian catalogue. Mr. Pope himſelf, after all the ſtrictures of Scriblerus,[3] in a letter to Aaron Hill, ſuppoſes it of that age; but a miſtaken accent determines it to have been written ſince the middle of the laſt century:

" ——————— This late example
" Of baſe Henriquez, bleeding in me now,
" From each good *áſpect* takes away my truſt."

[2] " William Caluerley, of Caluerley in Yorkſhire, Eſquire, murdered two of his owne children in his owne houſe, then ſtabde his wife into the body with full intent to haue killed her, and then inſtantlie with like fury went from his houſe, to haue ſlaine his yongeſt childe at nurſe, but was preuented. Hee was preſt to death in Yorke the 5 of Auguſt, 1604." *Edm. Howes' Continuation of John Stowe's Summarie*, 8vo. 1607, p. 574. The ſtory appeared before in a 4to. pamphlet, 1605. It is omitted in the folio chronicle, 1631.

[3] Theſe, however, he aſſures Mr. Hill, were the property of Dr. Arbuthnot.

And in another place,

" You have an *áſpect*, ſir, of wondrous wiſdom."

The word *aſpect*, you perceive, is here accented on the *firſt* ſyllable, which, I am confident, in *any* ſenſe of it, was never the caſe in the time of Shakſpeare; though it may ſometimes appear to be ſo, when we do not obſerve a preceding *eliſion*.[4]

Some of the profeſſed imitators of our old poets have not attended to this and many other *minutiæ*: I could point out to you ſeveral performances in the reſpective ſtyles of Chaucer, Spenſer, and Shakſpeare, which the *imitated* bard could not poſſibly have either read or conſtrued.

This very accent hath troubled the annotators on Milton. Dr. Bentley obſerves it to be " a *tone* different from the preſent uſe." Mr. Manwaring, in his *Treatiſe of Harmony and Numbers*, very ſolemnly informs us, that " this verſe is defective both in accent and quantity, B. III. v. 266:

' His words here ended, but his meek *aſpéct*
' Silent yet ſpake.——'

Here (ſays he) a ſyllable is *acuted* and *long*, whereas it ſhould be *ſhort* and *graved!*"

And a ſtill more extraordinary gentleman, one Green, who publiſhed a ſpecimen of a *new verſion* of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, into BLANK verſe, " by which that amazing work is brought ſomewhat nearer the

[4] Thus a line in Hamlet's deſcription of the Player, ſhould be printed as in the old folios:

" Tears in his eyes, diſtraction in's aſpéct."

agreeably to the accent in a hundred other places.

ſummit of perfection," begins with correcting a blunder in the fourth book, v. 540:

" ——————— The ſetting ſun
" Slowly deſcended, and with right *aſpect*—
" Levell'd his evening rays.——"

Not ſo in the *new verſion:*

" Meanwhile the ſetting ſun deſcending ſlow—
" Level'd with *áſpect* right his ev'ning rays."

Enough of ſuch commentators.——The celebrated Dr. Dee had a *ſpirit*, who would ſometimes condeſcend to correct him, when peccant in *quantity:* and it had been kind of him to have a little aſſiſted the *wights* abovementioned.—Milton affected the *antique*; but it may ſeem more extraordinary, that the old accent ſhould be adopted in *Hudibras.*

After all, *The Double Falſhood* is ſuperior to Theobald. One paſſage, and one only in the whole play, he pretended to have written:

" ——————— Strike up, my maſters;
" But touch the ſtrings with a religious ſoftneſs:
" Teach ſound to languiſh through the night's dull ear,
" Till melancholy ſtart from her lazy couch,
" And careleſſneſs grow convert to attention."

Theſe lines were particularly admired; and his vanity could not reſiſt the opportunity of claiming them: but his claim had been more eaſily allowed to *any other* part of the performance.

To whom then ſhall we aſcribe it?—Somebody hath told us, who ſhould ſeem to be a *noſtrum-monger* by his argument, that, let *accents* be how they will, it is called *an original play of William Shakſpeare* in the *King's Patent* prefixed to Mr. Theobald's edition, 1728, and conſequently there *could* be no fraud in the matter. Whilſt, on the

contrary, the *Iriſh* laureat, Mr. Victor, remarks, (and were it true, it would be certainly deciſive) that the plot is borrowed from a novel of Cervantes, not publiſhed till the year after Shakſpeare's death. But unluckily the ſame novel appears in a part of *Don Quixote*, which was printed in Spaniſh, 1605, and in Engliſh by Shelton, 1612.—The ſame reaſoning however, which exculpated our author from *The Yorkſhire Tragedy*, may be applied on the preſent occaſion.

But you want *my* opinion:—and from every mark of ſtyle and manner, I make no doubt of aſcribing it to Shirley. Mr. Langbaine informs us, that he left ſome plays in MS.—Theſe were written about the time of the *Reſtoration*, when the *accent* in queſtion was more generally altered.

Perhaps the miſtake aroſe from an *abbreviation* of the name. Mr. Dodſley knew not that the tragedy of *Andromana* was Shirley's, from the very ſame cauſe. Thus a whole ſtream of biographers tell us, that Marſton's plays were printed at London, 1633, "by the care of *William Shakeſpeare*, the famous comedian."—Here again I ſuppoſe, in ſome tranſcript, the real publiſher's name, *William Sheares*, was *abbreviated*. No one hath protracted the life of Shakſpeare beyond 1616, except Mr. Hume; who is pleaſed to add a year to it, in contradiction to all manner of evidence.

Shirley is ſpoken of with contempt in *Mac Flecknoe*; but his imagination is ſometimes fine to an extraordinary degree. I recollect a paſſage in the fourth book of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, which hath been ſuſpected of *imitation*, as a *prettineſs* below the genius of Milton: I mean, where *Uriel* glides *backward and forward* to heaven on a *ſun-beam*. Dr. Newton informs us, that this might poſſibly be hinted by a picture of Annibal Caracci in the King

of France's cabinet: but I am apt to believe that Milton had been ſtruck with a portrait in Shirley. Fernando, in the comedy of *The Brothers*, 1652, deſcribes Jacinta at *veſpers*:

" Her eye did ſeem to labour with a tear,
" Which ſuddenly took birth, but overweigh'd
" With its own ſwelling, drop'd upon her boſome;
" Which by reflexion of her light, appear'd
" As nature meant her ſorrow for an ornament:
" After, her looks grew chearfull, and I ſaw
" A ſmile ſhoot gracefull upward from her eyes,
" As if they had gain'd a victory o'er grief,
" And with it many *beams* twiſted themſelves,
" Upon whoſe *golden threads the angels* walk
" *To and again from heaven.*——"

You muſt not think me infected with the ſpirit of Lauder, if I give you another of Milton's imitations:

" ——————The ſwan *with arched neck*
" Between her white wings mantling proudly, rows
" Her ſtate with oary feet." Book VII. v. 438, &c.

" The ancient poets, ſays Mr. Richardſon, have not hit upon this beauty; ſo laviſh have they been in their deſcriptions of the *ſwan*. Homer calls the ſwan *long-necked*, δολιχοδείρου; but how much more *pittoreſque*, if he had *arched* this length of neck?"

For *this beauty* however, Milton was beholden to Donne; whoſe name, I believe, at preſent is better known than his writings:

" ——————Like a ſhip in her full trim,
" A *ſwan*, ſo white that you may unto him

[1] Middleton, in an obſcure play called *A Game at Cheſſe*, hath ſome very pleaſing lines on a ſimilar occaſion:

" Upon thoſe lips, the ſweete freſh buds of youth,
" The holy dewe of prayer lies like pearle,
" Dropt from the opening eye-lids of the morne
" Upon the bathfull roſe.——"

" Compare all whiteneſſe, but himſelfe to none,
" Glided along, and as he glided watch'd,
" And with his *arched neck* this poore fiſh catch'd.—"
Progreſſe of the Soul, st. 24.

Thoſe highly finiſhed landſcapes, the *Seaſons*, are indeed copied from nature, but Thomſon ſometimes recollected the hand of his maſter:

" ——————The ſtately ſailing ſwan
" Gives out his ſnowy plumage to the gale;
" *And arching proud his neck with oary feet*,
" Bears forward fierce, and guards his oſier iſle,
" Protective of his young.——"

But *to return*, as we ſay on other occaſions.—Perhaps the advocates for Shakſpeare's knowledge of the Latin language may be more ſucceſsful. Mr. Gildon takes the van. " It is plain, that he was acquainted with the fables of antiquity very well: that ſome of the arrows of Cupid are pointed with lead, and others with gold, he found in Ovid; and what he ſpeaks of Dido, in Virgil: nor do I know any tranſlation of theſe poets ſo ancient as Shakſpeare's time." The paſſages on which theſe ſagacious remarks are made, occur in *The Midſummer Night's Dream*; and exhibit, we ſee, a clear proof of acquaintance with the Latin claſſicks. But we are not anſwerable for Mr. Gildon's ignorance; he might have been told of Caxton and Douglas, of Surrey and Stanyhurſt, of Phaer and Twyne, of Fleming and Golding, of Turberville and Churchyard! but theſe fables were eaſily known without the help of either the originals or the tranſlations. The fate of Dido had been ſung very early by Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate; Marlowe had even already introduced her to the ſtage: and Cupid's arrows appear with their characteriſtick differences in Surrey, in Sidney,

in Spenſer, and every ſonnetteer of the time. Nay, their very names were exhibited long before in *The Romaunt of the Roſe:* a work, you may venture to look into, notwithſtanding Maſter Prynne hath ſo poſitively aſſured us, on the word of John Gerſon, that the author is moſt certainly damned, if he did not care for a ſerious repentance.[6]

Mr. Whalley argues in the ſame manner, and with the ſame ſucceſs. He thinks a paſſage in *The Tempeſt*,

> " ——————High queen of ſtate,
> " Great Juno comes; I know her by her *gait.*"

a remarkable inſtance of Shakſpeare's knowledge of ancient poetick ſtory; and that the hint was furniſhed by the *divûm incedo regina* of Virgil.[7]

You know, honeſt John Taylor, the *Water-poet*, declares that *he never learned his Accidence*, and that *Latin and French* were to him *Heathen-Greek*; yet by the help of Mr. Whalley's argument, I will prove him a *learned* man, in ſpite of every thing,

[6] Had our zealous puritan been acquainted with the real crime of De Mehun, he would not have joined in the clamour againſt him. Poor Jehan, it ſeems, had raiſed the expectations of a monaſtery in France, by the legacy of a great cheſt, and the weighty contents of it; but it proved to be filled with nothing better than *vetches*. The friars enraged at the ridicule and diſappointment, would not ſuffer him to have chriſtian burial. See the Hon. Mr. Barrington's very learned and curious *Obſervations on the Statutes*, 4to. 1766, p. 24. From the *Annales d'Aquitaine. Par.* 1537.

Our author had his full ſhare in diſtreſſing the ſpirit of this reſtleſs man. " Some Play-books are grown from *Quarto* into *Folio*; which yet bear ſo good a price and ſale, that I cannot but with griefe relate it.—*Shackſpeer's Plaies* are printed in the beſt Crowne-paper, far better than moſt *Bibles!*"

[7] Others would give up this paſſage for the *vera inceſſu patuit dea*; but I am not able to ſee any improvement in the matter: even ſuppoſing the poet had been ſpeaking of Juno, and no previous tranſlation were extant.

he may ſay to the contrary: for thus he makes a *gallant* addreſs his *lady:*

" Moſt ineſtimable magazine of beauty——in whom *the port and majeſty of Juno*, the wiſdom of Jove's braine-bred girle, and the feature of Cytherea,[8] have their domeſtical habitation."

In *The Merchant of Venice* we have an oath " By *two-headed Janus*;" and here, ſays Dr. Warburton, Shakſpeare ſhews his knowledge in the antique: and ſo again does the *Water-poet*, who deſcribes Fortune,

" Like a *Janus* with a *double face.*"

But Shakſpeare hath ſomewhere a *Latin motto*, quoth Dr. Sewell; and ſo hath John Taylor, and a whole poem upon it into the bargain.

You perceive, my dear Sir, how vague and indeterminate ſuch arguments muſt be: for in fact this *ſweet ſwan of Thames*, as Mr. Pope calls him, hath more ſcraps of Latin, and alluſions to antiquity than are any where to be met with in the writings of

[8] This paſſage recalls to my memory a very extraordinary fact. A few years ago, at a great court on the continent, a countryman of ours of high rank and character, [Sir C. H. W.] exhibited with many other candidates his complimental epigram on the birth-day, and carried the prize in triumph:

" O Regina orbis prima & pulcherrima: ridens
" Es Venus, incedens Juno, Minerva loquens."

Literally ſtolen from *Angerianus*,

" Tres quondam nudas vidit Priameius heros
" Luce deas; video tres quoque luce deas.
" Hoc majus; tres uno in corpore: *Cœlia ridens*
" *Eſt Venus, incedens Juno, Minerva loquens.*"

Delitiæ Ital. Poet. by Gruter, under the anagrammatic name of *Ranutius Gherus*, 1608, V. I. p. 189.

Perhaps the *latter part* of the epigram was met with in a whimſical book, which had its day of fame, *Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy*, fol. 1652, 6th edit. p. 520.

Shakſpeare. I am ſorry to trouble you with trifles, yet what muſt be done, when grave men inſiſt upon them?

It ſhould ſeem to be the opinion of ſome modern criticks, that the perſonages of claſſick land began only to be known in England in the time of Shakſpeare; or rather, that he particularly had the honour of introducing them to the notice of his countrymen.

For inſtance,—*Rumour painted full of tongues*, gives us a prologue to one of the parts of *Henry the Fourth*; and, ſays Dr. Dodd, Shakſpeare had doubtleſs a view to either Virgil or Ovid in their deſcription of Fame.

But why ſo? Stephen Hawes, in his *Paſtime of Pleaſure* had long before exhibited her in the ſame manner,

> "—A goodly lady envyroned about
> " With *tongues* of fyre.——"[8]

and ſo had Sir Thomas More in one of his *Pageants*:[9]

> " *Fame* I am called, mervayle you nothing
> " Though with *tonges* I am compaſſed all rounde."

not to mention her elaborate portrait by Chaucer, in *The Boke of Fame*; and by John Higgins, one of the aſſiſtants in *The Mirrour for Magiſtrates*, in his Legend of King Albanacte.

A very liberal writer on the *Beauties of Poetry*, who had been more converſant in the ancient literature of other countries, than his own, " cannot but wonder, that a poet, whoſe claſſical images are compoſed of the fineſt parts, and breath the very

[8] Cap. 1. 4to. 1555.

[9] Amongſt " the things, which Mayſter More wrote in his youth for his paſtime," prefixed to his *Workes*, 1557, Fol.

ſpirit of ancient mythology, ſhould paſs for being illiterate:

" See, what a grace was ſeated on this brow!
" Hyperion's curls: the front of Jove himſelf:
" An eye like Mars to threaten and command:
" A ſtation like the herald Mercury,
" New lighted on a heaven-kiſſing hill." *Hamlet.*

Illiterate is an ambiguous term: the queſtion is, whether poetick hiſtory could be only known by an adept in *languages.* It is no reflection on this ingenious gentleman, when I ſay, that I uſe on this occaſion the words of a *better* critick, who yet was not willing to carry the *illiteracy* of our poet *too far:*—" They who are in ſuch aſtoniſhment at the *learning* of Shakſpeare, forget that the pagan imagery was familiar to all the poets of his time; and that abundance of this ſort of learning was to be picked up from almoſt every Engliſh book, that he could take into his hands." For not to inſiſt upon Stephen Bateman's *Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes,* 1577, and ſeveral other laborious compilations on the ſubject, all this and much more mythology might as perfectly have been learned from the *Teſtament of Creſeide,*[2] and the *Fairy Queen,*[3] as from a regular Pantheon or Polymetis himſelf.

Mr. Upton, not contented with *heathen* learning, when he finds it in the text, muſt neceſſarily ſuperadd it, when it appears to be wanting; becauſe Shakſpeare moſt certainly hath loſt it by accident!

[2] Printed amongſt the works of Chaucer, but really written by *Robert Henderſon,* or *Henryſon,* according to other authorities.

[3] It is obſervable that *Hyperion* is uſed by Spenſer with the ſame error in *quantity.*

In *Much ado about Nothing*, Don Pedro ſays of the inſenſible Benedict, " He hath twice or thrice cut Cupid's bow-ſtring, and the little *hangman* dare not ſhoot at him."

This mythology is not recollected in the ancients, and therefore the critick hath no doubt but his author wrote—" *Henchman,—a page, puſio:* and *this* word ſeeming too hard for the printer, he tranſlated the little urchin into a *hangman*, a character no way belonging to him."

But this character was not borrowed from the ancients;—it came from the *Arcadia* of Sir Philip Sidney:

> " Millions of yeares this old drivell Cupid lives;
> " While ſtill more wretch, more wicked he doth prove:
> " Till now at length that Jove an office gives,
> " (At Juno's ſuite who much did Argus love)
> " In this our world a *hangman* for to be
> " Of all thoſe fooles that will have all they ſee."
>
> B. II. c. 14.

I know it may be objected on the authority of ſuch biographers as Theophilus Cibber, and the writer of the Life of Sir Philip, prefixed to the modern editions; that the *Arcadia* was not publiſhed before 1613, and conſequently too late for this imitation: but I have a copy in my own poſſeſſion, printed for W. Ponſonbie, 1590, 4to. which hath eſcaped the notice of the induſtrious Ames, and the reſt of our typographical antiquaries.

Thus likewiſe every word of antiquity is to be cut down to the claſſical ſtandard.

In a note on the Prologue to *Troilus and Creſſida*, (which, by the way, is not met with in the *quarto*,) Mr. Theobald informs us, that the very *names* of the gates of Troy, have been barbarouſly demoliſhed by the editors: and a deal of learned duſt he makes in ſetting them right again; much however to Mr.

Heath's ſatisfaction. Indeed the learning is modeſtly withdrawn from the later editions, and we are quietly inſtructed to read,

" Dardan, and Thymbria, Ilia, Scæa, Troian,
" And Antenorides."

But had he looked into the *Troy boke* of Lydgate, inſtead of puzzling himſelf with Dares Phrygius, he would have found the horrid demolition to have been neither the work of Shakſpeare nor his editors:

" Therto his cyte | compaſſed enuyrowne
" Hadde gates VI to entre into the towne:
" The firſt of all | and ſtrengeſt eke with all,
" Largeſt alſo | and moſte pryncypall,
" Of myghty byldyng | alone pereleſs,
" Was by the kynge called | Dardanydes;
" And in ſtorye | lyke as it is founde,
" Tymbria | was named the ſeconde;
" And the thyrde | called Helyas,
" The fourthe gate | hyghte alſo Cetheas;
" The fyfthe Trojana, | the ſyxth Anthonydes,
" Stronge and myghty | both in werre and pes."[4]
Lond. empr. by R. Pynſon, 1513, fol. B. II. ch. xi.

[4] The *Troye Boke* was ſomewhat modernized, and reduced into regular ſtanzas, about the beginning of the laſt century, under the name of " *The Life and Death of Hector*—who fought a hundred mayne Battailes in open Field againſt the Grecians; wherein there were ſlaine on both Sides *Fourteene Hundred and Sixe Thouſand Fourſcore and Sixe Men.*" Fol. no date. This work, Dr. Fuller and ſeveral other criticks have erroneouſly quoted as the *original*; and obſerve in conſequence, that " if Chaucer's *coin* were of *greater weight* for *deeper learning*, Lydgate's were of a more *refined ſtandard* for *purer language:* ſo that one might miſtake him for a modern writer!"

Let me here make an obſervation for the benefit of the next editor of Chaucer. Mr. Urry, probably misled by his predeceſſor, Speght, was determined, *Procruſtes-like*, to *force* every line in the *Canterbury Tales* to the ſame ſtandard: but a preciſe number of

Our excellent friend Mr. Hurd hath borne a noble teſtimony on our ſide of the queſtion. "Shakſpeare," ſays this true critick, "owed the felicity of freedom from the bondage of claſſical ſuperſtition, to the *want* of what is called the *advantage* of a learned education.—This, as well as a vaſt ſuperiority of genius, hath contributed to lift this aſtoniſhing man to the glory of being eſteemed the moſt original *thinker* and *ſpeaker*, ſince the times of Homer." And hence indiſputably the amazing variety of ſtyle and manner, unknown to all other writers: an argument of *itſelf* ſufficient to emancipate Shakſpeare from the ſuppoſition of a *claſſical training*. Yet, to be honeſt, *one* imitation is *faſtened* on our poet: which hath been inſiſted upon likewiſe by Mr. Upton and Mr. Whalley. You remember it in the famous ſpeech of Claudio in *Meaſure for Meaſure*:

"Ay, but to die and go we know not where!" &c.

Moſt certainly the ideas of "a ſpirit bathing

ſyllables was not the object of our old poets. Lydgate, after the example of his maſter, very fairly acknowledges,

"Well wot I | moche thing is wronge,
"Falſely metryd | both of ſhort and longe."

and Chaucer himſelf was perſuaded, that the *rime* might poſſibly be

"———— Somewhat agreáble,
"Though ſome verſe faile in a ſyllable."

In ſhort, the attention was directed to the *cæſural pauſe*, as the *grammarians* call it; which is carefully *marked* in every line of Lydgate: and Gaſcoigne in his *Certayne Notes of Inſtruction concerning the making of Verſe*, obſerves very truly of Chaucer, "Whoſoeuer do peruſe and well conſider his workes, he ſhall find, that although his lines are not always of one ſelfe ſame number of ſyllables, yet beyng redde by one that hath underſtanding, the longeſt verſe and that which hath moſt ſyllables in it, will fall to the eare correſpondent unto that which hath feweſt ſyllables in it: and likewiſe that whiche hath in it feweſt ſyllables ſhall be found yet to conſiſt of wordes that hath ſuche naturall ſounde, as may ſeeme equall in length to a verſe which hath many moe ſyllables of lighter accents." 4to. 1575.

in fiery floods," of reſiding "in thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice," or of being "impriſoned in the viewleſs winds," are not *original* in our author; but I am not ſure, that they came from the *Platonick hell* of Virgil.[5] The monks alſo had their hot and their cold hell: "The fyrſte is fyre that ever brenneth, and never gyveth lighte," ſays an old homily:[6]—"The ſeconde is paſſyng colde, that yf a grete hylle of fyre were caſten therin, it ſholde torn to yce." One of their legends, well remembered in the time of Shakſpeare, gives us a dialogue between a biſhop and a ſoul tormented in a piece of ice, which was brought to cure *a grete brenning beate* in his foot:[7] take care you do not interpret this the *gout*, for I remember M. Menage quotes a *canon* upon us:

"Si quis dixerit epiſcopum PODAGRA laborare, anathema ſit."*

Another tells us of the ſoul of a monk faſtened to a rock, which the winds were to blow about for a twelvemonth, and purge of its enormities. Indeed this doctrine was before now introduced into poetick fiction, as you may ſee in a poem "where the lover declareth his pains to exceed far the pains of hell," among the many miſcellaneous ones ſubjoined to the works of Surrey. Nay, a very learned and inquiſitive Brother-Antiquary, our Greek Profeſſor,* hath obſerved to me on the authority of

5 "——————— Aliæ panduntur inanes
"Suſpenſæ ad ventos: aliis ſub gurgite vaſto
"Infectum eluitur ſcelus, aut exuritur igni."

6 At the ende of the *feſtyuall*, drawen oute of *Legenda aurea*, 4to. 1508. It was firſt printed by Caxton, 1483, "in helpe of ſuch clerkes who excuſe theym for defaute of bokes, and alſo by fymplenes of connynge."

7 *On all ſoules daye*, p. 152.

* Mr. afterwards Dr. Lort.

Blefkenius, that this was the ancient opinion of the inhabitants of Iceland;[8] who were certainly very little read either in the *poet* or the *philoſopher*.

After all, Shakſpeare's curioſity might lead him to *tranſlations*. Gawin Douglas really changes the *Platonick hell* into the "punytion of ſaulis in purgatory:" and it is obſervable, that when the Ghoſt informs Hamlet of his doom there,

> "Till the foul crimes done in his days of nature
> "Are *burnt and purg'd away*.——"

the expreſſion is very ſimilar to the biſhop's: "I will give you his verſion as conciſely as I can; "It is a nedeful thyng to ſuffer panis and torment—ſum in the wyndis, ſum under the watter, and in the fire uthir ſum:—thus the mony vices—

> 'Contrakkit in the corpis be *done away*
> '*And purgit*.——" *Sixte Booke of Eneados*, fol. p. 191.

It ſeems, however, "that Shakſpeare *himſelf* in the *Tempeſt* hath tranſlated ſome expreſſions of *Virgil:* witneſs the *O dea certe*." I preſume, we are here directed to the paſſage, where Ferdinand ſays of Miranda, after hearing the ſongs of Ariel,

> "——Moſt ſure, the goddeſs
> "On whom theſe airs attend."

and ſo *very ſmall Latin* is ſufficient for this formidable tranſlation, that if it be thought any honour to our poet, I am loath to deprive him of it; but his honour is not built on ſuch a ſandy foundation. Let us turn to a *real tranſlator*, and examine whether the idea might not be fully comprehended by an Engliſh reader; *ſuppoſing* it neceſſarily borrowed from Virgil. Hexameters in our own language

[8] *Iſlandiæ* Deſcript. *Ludg. Bat.* 1607, p. 46.

are almoſt forgotten; we will quote therefore this time from Stanyhurſt:

" O to thee, fayre virgin, what terme may rightly be fitted?
" Thy tongue, thy viſage no mortal frayltie reſembleth.
" ——*No doubt, a godeſſe!*" Edit. 1583.

Gabriel Harvey deſired only to be " *epitaph'd*, the inventor of the Engliſh *hexameter*," and for a while every one would be *halting on Roman feet*; but the ridicule of our fellow-collegian Hall, in one of his Satires, and the reaſoning of Daniel, in his *Defence of Rhyme* againſt Campion, preſently reduced us to our original Gothick.

But to come nearer the purpoſe, what will you ſay, if I can ſhew you, that Shakſpeare, when, in the favourite phraſe, he had a Latin poet *in his eye*, moſt aſſuredly made uſe of a tranſlation?

Proſpero, in the *Tempeſt*, begins the addreſs to his attendant *ſpirits*,

" Ye elves of hills, of ſtanding lakes, and groves."

This ſpeech, Dr. Warburton rightly obſerves to be borrowed from Medea in Ovid: and " it proves," ſays Mr. Holt,[9] " beyond contradiction, that Shakſpeare was perfectly acquainted with the ſentiments of the ancients on the ſubject of inchantments." The original lines are theſe:

" Auræque, & venti, monteſque, amneſque, lacuſque,
" Diique omnes nemorum, diique omnes noctis adeſte."

It happens, however, that the tranſlation by Arthur

[9] In ſome remarks on the *Tempeſt*, publiſhed under the quaint title of *An Attempte to reſcue that aunciente Engliſh Poet and Playwrighte, Maiſter* Williaume Shakeſpeare, *from the many Errours, faulſely charged upon him by certaine new-fangled Wittes*. Lond. 8vo. 1749, p. 81.

Golding[a] is by no means literal, and Shakſpeare hath cloſely followed it:

" Ye ayres and winds; *ye elves of hills*, of brookes, of woods alone,
" *Of ſtanding lakes*, and of the night approche ye everych one."

I think it is unneceſſary to purſue this any further; eſpecially as more powerful arguments await us.

In *The Merchant of Venice*, the Jew, as an apology for his cruelty to Antonio, rehearſes many *ſympathies* and *antipathies* for which *no reaſon can be rendered:*

" Some love not a gaping pig——
" And others when the *bagpipe* ſings i'th' noſe,
" Cannot contain their urine for *affection.*"

This incident, Dr. Warburton ſuppoſes to be taken from a paſſage in Scaliger's *Exercitations* againſt *Cardan:* " Narrabo tibi jocoſam ſympathiam *Reguli Vaſconis* equitis: is dum viveret audito *phormingis* ſono, urinam illico facere cogebatur."— " And," proceeds the Doctor, " to make this jocular ſtory ſtill more ridiculous, Shakſpeare, I ſuppoſe, tranſlated *phorminx* by *bagpipes.*"

Here we ſeem fairly caught;—for Scaliger's work was never, as the term goes, *done into Engliſh.* But luckily in an old tranſlation from the French of Peter le Loier, entitled, *A Treatiſe of Spectters, or ſtraunge Sights, Viſions, and Apparitions appearing ſenſibly unto Men*, we have this identical ſtory from Scaliger: and what is ſtill more, a marginal note gives us in all probability the very fact alluded to, as well as the word of Shakſpeare: " Another gen-

[a] His work is dedicated to the Earl of Leiceſter in a long epiſtle in verſe, from Berwick, April 20, 1567.

tleman of this quality liued of late in Deuon neere Exceſter, who could not endure the playing on a *bagpipe.*"[3]

We may juſt add, as ſome obſervation hath been made upon it, that *affection* in the ſenſe of *ſympathy* was formerly *technical*; and ſo uſed by Lord Bacon, Sir Kenelm Digby, and many other writers.

A ſingle word in Queen Catherine's character of Wolſey, in *Henry VIII.* is brought by the Doctor as another argument for the learning of Shakſpeare:

" ——————— He was a man
" Of an unbounded ſtomach, ever ranking
" Himſelf with princes; one that by *ſuggeſtion*
" Ty'd all the kingdom. Simony was fair play.
" His own opinion was his law: i'th' preſence
" He would ſay untruths, and be ever double
" Both in his words and meaning. He was never,
" But where he meant to ruin, pitiful.
" His promiſes were, as he then was, mighty;
" But his performance, as he now is, nothing.
" Of his own body he was ill, and gave
" The clergy ill example."

" The word *ſuggeſtion*," ſays the critick, " is here uſed with great propriety, and *ſeeming* knowledge of the Latin tongue:" and he proceeds to ſettle the ſenſe of it from *the late Roman writers and their gloſſers.* But Shakſpeare's knowledge was from Holinſhed, whom he follows *verbatim:*

" This cardinal was of a great ſtomach, for he compted himſelf equal with princes, and by craftie *ſuggeſtion* got into his hands innumerable treaſure:

[3] M. Bayle hath delineated the ſingular character of our *fantaſtical* author. His work was originally tranſlated by one Zacharie Jones. My edit. is in 4to. 1605, with an anonymous Dedication to the King: the Devonſhire ſtory was therefore well known in the time of Shakſpeare.——The paſſage from Scaliger is likewiſe to be met with in *The Optick Glaſſe of Humors*, written, I believe, by T. Wombwell; and in ſeveral other places.

he forced little on ſimonie, and was not pitifull, and ſtood affectionate in his own opinion: in open preſence he would lie and ſeie untruth, and was double both in ſpeech and meaning: he would promiſe much and performe little: he was vicious of his bodie, and gaue the clergie euil example." Edit. 1587, p. 922.

Perhaps after this quotation, you may not think, that Sir Thomas Hanmer, who reads *Tyth'd*—inſtead of—*Ty'd all the kingdom*, deſerves quite ſo much of Dr. Warburton's ſeverity.——Indiſputably the paſſage, like every other in the ſpeech, is intended to expreſs the meaning of the paralle one in the chronicle: it cannot therefore be credited, that any man, when the *original* was produced ſhould ſtill chooſe to defend a *cant* acceptation; and inform us, perhaps, *ſeriouſly*, that in *gaming* language, from I know not what practice, to *tye* is t *equal!* A ſenſe of the word, as far as I have ye found, *unknown* to our old writers; and, if *known* would not ſurely have been uſed in *this* place b our author.

But let us turn from conjecture to Shakſpeare' authorities. Hall, from whom the above deſcrip tion is copied by Holinſhed, is very explicit in th demands of the Cardinal: who having inſolentl told the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, "For ſothe thinke, that *halfe* your ſubſtaunce were to litle, aſſures them by way of comfort at the end of h harangue, that *upon an average* the *tythe* ſhould b ſufficient; "Sers, ſpeake not to breake that thyn that is concluded, for *ſome* ſhal not paie the *ten* parte, and *ſome* more."—And again; "Thei ſaie the Cardinall by viſitacions, makyng of abbotte probates of teſtamentes, graunting of faculties, l cences, and other pollyngs in his courtes legantine

had made his *threaſore egall with the kinges.*" Edit. 1548, p. 138, and 143.

Skelton,[4] in his *Why come ye not to Court*, gives us, after his rambling manner, a curious character of Wolſey:

[4] His poems are printed with the title of "Pithy, Pleaſaunt, and Profitable Workes of Maiſter *Skelton Poet Laureate.*"—"But," ſays Mr. Cibber, after ſeveral other writers, "how or by what intereſt he was made *Laureat*, or whether it was by a title he aſſumed to himſelf, cannot be determined." This is an error pretty generally received, and it may be worth our while to remove it.

A facetious author ſays ſomewhere, that a *poet laureat*, in the modern idea, is a gentleman, who hath an annual ſtipend for reminding us of the *New Year*, and the *Birth-day:* but formerly a *Poet Laureat* was a real *univerſity graduate*,

"Skelton wore the laurell wreath,
"And paſt in *ſchoels* ye knoe."

ſays Churchyarde in a poem prefixed to his works. And Maſter Caxton in his Preface to *The Boke of Eneydos*, 1490, hath a paſſage, which well deſerves to be quoted without abridgement: "I praye mayſter *John Skelton, late created poete laureate in the univerſite of Oxenforde*, to overſee and correcte thys ſayd booke, and taddreſſe and expowne whereas ſhall be founde faulte, to theym that ſhall requyre it; for hym I knowe for ſuffycyent to expowne and Englyſshe every dyfficulte that is therein; for he hath late tranſlated the epyſtles of Tulle, and the book of Dyodorus Syculus, and diverſe other workes, out of Latyn into Englyſhe, not in rude and old language, but in polyſhed and ornate termes, craftely, as he that hath redde *Vyrgyle, Ouyde, Tullye*, and all the other noble poets and oratours, to me unknowen: and alſo he hath redde the ix muſes, and underſtands their muſicalle ſcyences, and to whom of them eche ſcyence is appropred: I ſuppoſe he hath dronken of *Elycons* well!"

I find, from Mr. Baker's MSS. that our *laureat* was admitted *ad eundem* at Cambridge: "An. Dom. 1493. & Hen. 7. nono. Conceditur *Johi Skelton* Poete in partibus tranſmarinis atque *Oxon.* Laureâ ornato, ut apud nos eâdem decoraretur." And afterward, "An. 150$\frac{4}{5}$ Conceditur *Johi Skelton*, Poetæ Laureat. quod poſſit ſtare eodem gradu hic, quo ſtetit *Oxoniis*, & quod poſſit uti habitu ſibi conceſſo à Principe."

See likewiſe Dr. Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 122. And *Recherches* ſur les *Poetes couronnez*, par M. l'Abbé du Reſnel, in the *Memoires de Litterature*, Vol. X. *Paris*, 4to. 1736.

" ——— By and by
" He will drynke us ſo dry
" And ſucke us ſo nye
" That men ſhall ſcantly
" Haue penny or halpennye
" God ſaue hys noble grace
" And graunt him a place
" Endleſſe to dwel
" With the deuill of hel
" For and he were there
" We nead neuer feare
" Of the feendes blacke
" For I undertake
" He wold ſo brag and crake
" That he wold than make
" The deuils to quake
" To ſhudder and to ſhake
" Lyke a fier drake
" And with a cole rake
" Bruſe them on a brake
" And binde them to a ſtake
" And ſet hel on fyre
" At his owne deſire
" He is ſuch a grym fyre!" Edit. 1568.

Mr. Upton and ſome other criticks have thought it very *ſcholar-like* in Hamlet to ſwear the Centinels on a *ſword:* but this is for ever met with. For inſtance, in the *Paſſus Primus* of Pierce Plowman:

" Dauid in his daies dubbed knightes,
" And did hem *ſwere on her ſword* to ſerue truth euer."

And in *Hieronymo*, the common butt of our author, and the wits of the time, ſays Lorenzo to Pedringano,

" Swear on this croſs, that what thou ſayſt is true—
" But if I prove thee perjured and unjuſt,
" This very *ſword*, whereon thou took'ſt thine oath,
" Shall be the worker of thy tragedy!"

We have therefore no occaſion to go with Mr.

Garrick as far as the French of Brantôme to illuſtrate this ceremony:[5] a *gentleman*, who will be always allowed the *firſt commentator* on Shakſpeare, when he does not carry us beyond *himſelf*.

Mr. Upton, however, in the next place, produces a paſſage from *Henry VI.* whence he argues it to be very plain, that our author had not only *read Cicero's Offices*, but even more *critically* than many of the editors:

> " ——————— This villain here,
> " Being captain of a *pinnace*, threatens more
> " Than Bargulus, the ſtrong Illyrian pirate."

So the *wight*, he obſerves with great exultation, is named by Cicero in the editions of Shakſpeare's time, " Bargulus Illyrius latro;" though the modern editors have choſen to call him Bardylis:— " and *thus* I found it in *two* MSS."——And *thus* he might have found it in *two* tranſlations, before Shakſpeare was born. Robert Whytinton, 1533, calls him, " Bargulus a pirate upon the ſee of Illiry;" and Nicholas Grimald, about twenty years afterward, " Bargulus the Illyrian robber."[6]

But it had been eaſy to have checked Mr. Upton's exultation, by obſerving, that Bargulus does not appear in the *quarto*.—Which alſo is the caſe with ſome fragments of Latin verſes, in the different *parts* of this *doubtful* performance.

It is ſcarcely worth mentioning, that two or three more Latin paſſages, which are met with in our

[5] Mr. Johnſon's edit. Vol. VIII. p. 171.

[6] I have met with a writer who tells us, that a tranſlation of the *Offices* was printed by Caxton, in the year 1481: but ſuch a book never exiſted. It is a miſtake for *Tullius of old Age*, printed with *The Boke of Frendſhipe*, by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worceſter. I believe the former was tranſlated by William Wyrceſtre, alias Botoner.

author, are immediately tranſcribed from the ſtory or chronicle before him. Thus, in *Henry V.* whoſe right to the kingdom of France is copiouſly demonſtrated by the Archbiſhop:

" ——————— There is no bar
" To make againſt your highneſs' claim to France,
" But this which they produce from Pharamond:
" In terram Salicam mulieres nè ſuccedant;
" No woman ſhall ſucceed in Salike land:
" Which Salike land the French unjuſtly gloze
" To be the realm of France, and Pharamond
" The founder of this law and female bar.
" Yet their own authors faithfully affirm,
" That the land Salike lies in Germany,
" Between the floods of Sala and of Elve," &c.

Archbiſhop Chichelie, ſays Holinſhed, " did much inueie againſt the ſurmiſed and falſe fained law Salike, which the Frenchmen alledge euer againſt the kings of England in barre of their juſt title to the crowne of France. The very words of that ſuppoſed law are theſe, In terram Salicam mulieres nè ſuccedant, that is to ſaie, Into the Salike land let not women ſucceed; which the French gloſſers expound to be the realm of France, and that this law was made by King Pharamond: whereas yet their owne authors affirme, that the land Salike is in Germanie, betweene the rivers of Elbe and Sala," &c. p. 545.

It hath lately been repeated from Mr. Guthrie's *Eſſay upon Engliſh Tragedy*, that the *portrait* of Macbeth's *wife* is copied from Buchanan, " whoſe ſpirit, as well as words, is tranſlated into the play of Shakſpeare: and it had ſignified nothing to have pored only on Holinſhed for *facts*."——" Animus etiam, per ſe ferox, prope quotidianis conviciis uxoris (quæ omnium conſiliorum ei erat conſcia) ſtimulabatur."—This is the whole, that Buchanan ſays of the *lady*; and truly I ſee no more *ſpirit* in

the Scotch, than in the Engliſh chronicler. "The wordes of the three weird ſiſters alſo greatly encouraged him, [to the murder of Duncan] but ſpecially his wife lay ſore upon him to attempt the thing, as ſhe that was very ambitious, brenning in unquenchable deſire to beare the name of a queene." Edit. 1577, p. 244.

This part of Holinſhed is an abridgement of Johne Bellenden's tranſlation of the *noble clerk, Hector Boece*, imprinted at Edingburgh, in fol. 1541. I will give the paſſage as it is found there. "His wyfe impacient of lang tary *(as all wemen ar)* ſpecially quhare they ar deſirus of ony purpos, gaif hym gret artation to purſew the thrid weird, that ſche micht be ane quene, calland hym oft tymis febyl cowart and nocht deſyrus of honouris, ſen he durſt not aſſailze the thing with manheid and curage, quhilk is offerit to hym be beniuolence of fortoun. Howbeit ſindry otheris hes aſſailzeit ſic thinges afore with maiſt terribyl jeopardyis, quhen they had not ſic ſickernes to ſucceid in the end of thair lauboris as he had." P. 173.

But we can *demonſtrate*, that Shakſpeare had not the ſtory from Buchanan. According to *him*, the weird-ſiſters ſalute Macbeth, "Una Anguſiæ Thamum, altera Moraviæ, tertia *regem.*"——Thane of Angus, and of Murray, &c. but according to Holinſhed, immediately from Bellenden, as it ſtands in Shakſpeare: "The firſt of them ſpake and ſayde, All hayle Makbeth, thane of Glammis,—the ſecond of them ſaid, Hayle Makbeth, thane of Cawder; but the third ſayde, All hayle Makbeth, that hereafter ſhall be *king of Scotland.*" P. 243.

"1. *Witch.* All hail, Macbeth! Hail to thee, thane of Glamis!

" 2. *Witch.* All hail, Macbeth! Hail to thee, thane of Cawdor!

" 3. *Witch.* All hail, Macbeth! that ſhalt be *king* hereafter!"

Here too our poet found the equivocal predictions, on which his hero ſo fatally depended. " He had learned of certain wyſards, how that he ought to take heede of Macduffe;——and ſurely hereupon had he put Macduffe to death, but a certaine witch whom he had in great truſt, had tolde, that he ſhould neuer be ſlain with *man born of any woman*, nor vanquiſhed till the wood of Bernane came to the caſtell of Dunſinane." P. 244. And the ſcene between Malcolm and Macduff in the fourth act is almoſt literally taken from the Chronicle.

Macbeth was certainly one of Shakſpeare's lateſt productions, and it might poſſibly have been ſuggeſted to him by a little performance on the ſame ſubject at Oxford, before King James, 1605. I will tranſcribe my notice of it from Wake's *Rex Platonicus:* " Fabulæ anſam dedit antiqua de Regiâ proſapiâ hiſtoriola apud Scoto-Britannos celebrata, quæ narrat tres olim Sibyllas occurriſſe duobus Scotiæ proceribus, Macbetho & Banchoni, & illum prædixiſſe Regem futurum, ſed Regem nullum geniturum; hunc Regem non futurum, ſed Reges geniturum multos. Vaticinii veritatem rerum eventus comprobavit. Banchonis enim è ſtirpe potentiſſimus Jacobus oriundus." P. 29.

A ſtronger argument hath been brought from the plot of *Hamlet*. Dr. Grey and Mr. Whalley aſſure us, that for *this*, Shakſpeare *muſt* have read *Saxo Grammaticus* in Latin, for no tranſlation hath been made into any modern language. But the truth is, he did not take it from *Saxo* at all; a novel called *The Hyſtorie of Hamblet*, was his original: a fragment of which, in *black letter*, I have been favoured

with by a very curious and intelligent gentleman, to whom the lovers of Shakſpeare will ſome time or other owe great obligations.

It hath indeed been ſaid, that "IF *ſuch an hiſtory exiſts*, it is almoſt impoſſible that any poet unacquainted with the Latin language (ſuppoſing his perceptive faculties to have been ever ſo acute,) could have caught the characteriſtical madneſs of Hamlet, deſcribed by *Saxo Grammaticus*,[7] ſo happily as it is delineated by Shakſpeare.

Very luckily, our fragment gives us a part of Hamlet's ſpeech to his *mother*, which ſufficiently replies to this obſervation:—"It was not without cauſe, and juſte occaſion, that my geſtures, countenances and words ſeeme to proceed from a madman, and that I deſire to haue all men eſteeme mee wholy depriued of ſence and reaſonable underſtanding, bycauſe I am well aſſured, that he that hath made no conſcience to kill his owne brother, (accuſtomed to murthers, and allured with deſire of gouernement without controll in his treaſons,) will not ſpare to ſaue himſelfe with the like crueltie, in the blood, and fleſh of the loyns of his brother, by him maſſacred: and therefore it is better for me to fayne madneſſe then to uſe my right ſences as nature hath beſtowed them upon me. The bright ſhining clearnes therof I am forced to hide vnder this ſhadow of diſſimulation, as the ſun doth hir beams vnder ſome great cloud, when the wether in ſummer time ouercaſteth: the face of a mad man, ſerueth to couer my gallant countenance, and the geſtures

[7] "Falſitatis enim (Hamlethus) alienus haberi cupidus, ita aſtutiam veriloquio permiſcebat, ut nec dictis veracitas deeſſet, nec acuminis modus verorum judicio proderetur." This is quoted, as it had been before, in Mr. Guthrie's *Eſſay on Tragedy*, with a *ſmall* variation from the *Original*. See edit. fol. 1644, p. 50.

of a fool are fit for me, to the end that guiding my ſelf wiſely therin I may preſerue my life for the Danes and the memory of my late deceaſed father, for that the deſire of reuenging his death is ſo ingrauen in my heart, that if I dye not ſhortly, I hope to take ſuch and ſo great vengeance, that theſe countryes ſhall for euer ſpeake thereof. Neuerthcleſs I muſt ſtay the time, meanes, and occaſion, leſt by making ouer great haſt, I be now the cauſe of mine own ſodaine ruine and ouerthrow, and by that meanes, end, before I beginne to effect my hearts deſire: hee that hath to doe with a wicked, diſloyall, cruell, and diſcourteous man, muſt vſe craft, and politike inuentions, ſuch as fine witte can beſt imagine, not to diſcouer his interpriſe: for ſeeing that by force I cannot affect my deſire, reaſon alloweth me by diſſimulation, ſubtiltie, and ſecret practiſes to proceed therein."

But to put the matter out of all queſtion, my communicative friend, above-mentioned, Mr. Capell, (for why ſhould I not give myſelf the credit of his name?) hath been fortunate enough to procure from the collection of the Duke of Newcaſtle, a *complete* copy of the *Hyſtorie of Hamblet*, which proves to be a tranſlation from the French of Belleforeſt; and he tells me, that "all the chief incidents of the play, and all the capital characters are there in *embryo*, after a rude and barbarous manner: ſentiments indeed there are none, that Shakſpeare could borrow; nor any expreſſion but *one*, which is, where Hamlet kills Polonius behind the arras: in doing which he is made to cry out as in the play, "*a rat, a rat!*"—So much for *Saxo Grammaticus!*

It is ſcarcely conceivable, how induſtriouſly the puritanical zeal of the laſt age exerted itſelf in deſtroying, amongſt better things, the innocent amuſe-

ments of the former. Numberleſs *Tales* and *Poems* are alluded to in old books, which are now perhaps no where to be found. Mr. Capell informs me, (and he is in theſe matters, the moſt able of all men to give information,) that our author appears to have been beholden to ſome novels, which he hath yet only ſeen in French or Italian: but he adds, " to ſay they are not in ſome Engliſh dreſs, proſaic or metrical, and perhaps with circumſtances nearer to his ſtories, is what I will not take upon me to do: nor indeed is what I believe; but rather the contrary, and that time and accident will bring ſome of them to light, if not all."—

W. Painter, at the concluſion of the ſecond *Tome* of his *Palace of Pleaſure*, 1567, *advertiſes* the reader, " bicauſe ſodaynly (contrary to expectation) this volume is riſen to a greater heape of leaues, I doe omit for this preſent time *ſundry nouels* of mery deuiſe, reſeruing the ſame to be joyned with the reſt of an other part, wherein ſhall ſucceede the remnant of *Bandello*, ſpecially ſutch (ſuffrable) as the learned French man François de Belleforeſt hath ſelected, and the choyſeſt done in the Italian. Some alſo out of *Erizzo*, *Ser Giouanni Florentino*, *Paraboſco*, *Cynthio*, *Straparole*, *Sanſouino*, and the beſt liked out of the Queene of *Nauarre*, and other authors. Take theſe in good part, with thoſe that haue and ſhall come forth."—But I am not able to find that a *third Tome* was ever publiſhed: and it is very probable, that the intereſt of his bookſellers, and more eſpecially the prevailing mode of the time, might lead him afterward to print his *ſundry novels* ſeparately. If this were the caſe, it is no wonder, that ſuch *fugitive pieces* are recovered with difficulty; when the *two Tomes*, which Tom. Rawlinſon would have called *juſta volumina*, are almoſt annihilated. Mr. Ames, who ſearched after books of

this ſort with the utmoſt avidity, moſt certainly had not ſeen them, when he publiſhed his *Typographical Antiquities*; as appears from his blunders about them: and poſſibly I myſelf might have remained in the ſame predicament, had I not been favoured with a copy by my generous friend, Mr. Lort.

Mr. Colman, in the Preface to his elegant tranſlation of Terence, hath offered ſome arguments for the learning of Shakſpeare, which have been retailed with much confidence, ſince the appearance of Mr. Johnſon's edition.

"Beſides the reſemblance of particular paſſages ſcattered up and down in different plays, it is well known, that the *Comedy of Errors* is in great meaſure founded on the *Menæchmi* of Plautus; but I do not recollect ever to have ſeen it obſerved, that the diſguiſe of the *Pedant* in *The Taming of the Shrew*, and his aſſuming the name and character of *Vincentio*, ſeem to be evidently taken from the diſguiſe of the *Sycophanta* in the *Trinummus* of the ſaid author;[8] and there is a quotation from the

[8] This obſervation of Mr. Colman is quoted by his very ingenious colleague, Mr. Thornton, in his tranſlation of this play: who further remarks, in another part of it, that a paſſage in *Romeo and Juliet*, where Shakſpeare ſpeaks of the *contradiction* in the nature of *love*, is very much in the manner of his author:

"Amor—mores hominum moros & moroſos efficit.
"Minus placet quod ſuadetur, quod diſuadetur placet.
"Quom inopia'ſt, cupias, quando ejus copia'ſt, tum non velis." &c.

Which he tranſlates with eaſe and elegance,

"——————Love makes a man a fool,
"Hard to be pleas'd.—What you'd perſuade him to,
"He likes not, and embraces that, from which
"You would diſſuade him.—What there is a lack of,
"That will he covet;—when 'tis in his power,
"He'll none on't.——" Act III. ſc. iii.

Let us now turn to the paſſage in Shakſpeare:

"——O brawling love! O loving hate!—
"O heavy lightneſs! ſerious vanity!

Eunuch of Terence alſo, ſo familiarly introduced into the dialogue of *The Taming of the Shrew*, that I think it puts the queſtion of Shakſpeare's having read the Roman comick poets in the *original* language out of all doubt,

" Redime te captum, quam queas, minimo."

With reſpect to *reſemblances*, I ſhall not trouble

" Mis-ſhapen chaos of well-ſeeming forms!
" Feather of lead, bright ſmoke, cold fire, ſick health!
" Still-waking ſleep! that is not what it is!"

Shakſpeare, I am ſure, in the opinion of Mr. Thornton, did not want a Plautus to teach him the workings of nature; nor are his *paralleliſms* produced with any ſuch implication: but, I ſuppoſe, a peculiarity appears here in the manner of expreſſion, which however was extremely the humour of the age. Every *ſonnetteer* characteriſes *love* by contrarieties. Watſon begins one of his *canzonets*,

" Love is a ſowre delight, a ſugred griefe,
" A living death, an euer-dying life," &c.

Turberville makes *Reaſon* harangue againſt it in the ſame manner:

" A fierie froſt, a flame that frozen is with iſe!
" A heavie burden light to beare! a vertue fraught with vice!" &c.

Immediately from *The Romaunt of the Roſe:*

" Loue it is an hatefull pees
" A free acquitaunce without reles—
" *An heavie burthen light to beare*
" A wicked wawe awaie to weare:
" And health full of maladie
" And charitie full of envie—
" A laughter that is weping aie
" Reſt that trauaileth night and daie," &c.

This kind of *antitheſis* was very much the taſte of the Provençal and Italian Poets; perhaps it might be hinted by the *Ode of Sappho*, preſerved by Longinus: Petrarch is full of it:

" Pace non trovo, & non hó da far guerra,
" Et temo, & ſpero, & ardo, & ſon un ghiaccio,
" Et volo ſopra'l cielo, & ghiaccio in terra,
" Et nulla ſtringo, & tuttol mondo abbraccio." &c.

Sonetto 105.

Sir Thomas Wyat gives a tranſlation of this ſonnet, without any notice of the *original*, under the title of " Deſcription of the contrarious paſſions in a Louer," amongſt the *Songes and Sonettes*, by the Earle of Surrey, and Others, 1574.

you any further.—That the *Comedy of Errors* is founded on the *Menæchmi*, it is notorious: nor is it leſs ſo, that a tranſlation of it by W. W. perhaps William Warner, the author of *Albion's England*, was extant in the time of Shakſpeare;[9] though Mr. Upton, and ſome other advocates for his learning, have cautiouſly dropt the mention of it. Beſides this, (if indeed it were different,) in the *Geſta Grayorum*, the Chriſtmas Revels of the Grays-Inn Gentlemen, 1594, "a *Comedy of Errors* like to Plautus his *Menechmus* was played by the Players." And the ſame hath been ſuſpected to be the ſubject of the *goodlie Comedie of Plautus*, acted at Greenwich before the King and Queen in 1520; as we learn from Hall and Holinſhed:—Riccoboni highly compliments the Engliſh on opening their ſtage ſo well; but unfortunately, Cavendiſh in his *Life of Wolſey*, calls it, an *excellent Interlude in Latine*. About the ſame time it was exhibited in German at Nuremburgh, by the celebrated *Hanſſach*, the *ſhoemaker*.

"But a character in *The Taming of the Shrew* is borrowed from the *Trinummus*, and no tranſlation of *that* was extant."

Mr. Colman indeed hath been better employed: but if he had met with an old comedy, called *Suppoſes*, tranſlated from Arioſto by George Gaſcoigne;[2] he certainly would not have appealed to

[9] It was publiſhed in 4to. 1595. The printer of Langbaine, p. 524, hath accidentally given the date, 1515, which hath been copied implicitly by Gildon, Theobald, Cooke, and ſeveral others. Warner is now almoſt forgotten, yet the old criticks eſteemed him one of "our chiefe heroical *makers*."—*Meres* informs us, that he had "heard him termed of the beſt wits of both our Univerſities, our *Engliſh Homer*."

[2] His works were firſt collected under the ſingular title of

Plautus. Thence Shakſpeare borrowed this part of the plot, (as well as ſome of the phraſeology,) though Theobald pronounces it his own invention: there likewiſe he found the quaint name of *Petruchio*. My young maſter and his man exchange habits and characters, and perſuade a Scenæſe, as he is called, to perſonate the *father*, exactly as in the *Taming of the Shrew*, by the pretended danger of his coming from Sienna to Ferrara, contrary to the order of the government.

Still, Shakſpeare quotes a line from the *Eunuch* of Terence: by memory too, and what is more, "purpoſely alters it, in order to bring the ſenſe within the compaſs of one line."——This remark was previous to Mr. Johnſon's; or indiſputably it would not have been made at all.——"Our author had this line from Lilly; which I mention that it may not be brought as an argument of his learning."

"But how," cries an unprovoked antagoniſt, "can you take upon you to ſay, that he had it from Lilly, and not from Terence?"[3] I will anſwer for Mr. Johnſon, who is above anſwering for himſelf. —Becauſe it is quoted as it appears in the *grammarian*, and not as it appears in the *poet*.—And thus we have done with the *purpoſed* alteration. Udall likewiſe in his *Floures for Latin ſpeaking*,

"A hundredth ſundrie Flowres bounde up in one ſmall Poeſie. Gathered partly (by tranſlation) in the fyne outlandiſh gardins of *Euripides*, *Ouid*, *Petrarke*, *Arioſto*, and others: and partly by inuention, out of our own fruitefull orchardes in Englande: yelding ſundrie ſweet ſauors of tragical, comical, and morall diſcourſes, bothe pleaſaunt and profitable to the well ſmellyng noſes of learned readers." *Black letter*, 4to. no date.

[3] W. Kenrick's Review of Dr. Johnſon's edit. of Shakſpeare, 1765, 8vo. p. 105.

gathered out of Terence, 1560, reduces the paſſage to a ſingle line, and ſubjoins a tranſlation.

We have hitherto ſuppoſed Shakſpeare the author of the *Taming of the Shrew*, but his property in it is extremely diſputable. I will give you my opinion, and the reaſons on which it is founded. I ſuppoſe then the preſent play not *originally* the work of Shakſpeare, but reſtored by him to the ſtage, with the whole Induction of the Tinker, and ſome other occaſional improvements; eſpecially in the character of Petruchio. It is very obvious, that the *induction* and the *play* were either the works of different hands, or written at a great interval of time: the former is in our author's *beſt* manner, and the greater part of the *latter* in his *worſt*, or even below it. Dr. Warburton declares it to be *certainly* ſpurious: and without doubt, *ſuppoſing* it to have been written by Shakſpeare, it muſt have been one of his *earlieſt* productions; yet it is not mentioned in the liſt of his works by Meres in 1598.

I have met with a facetious piece of Sir John Harrington, printed in 1596, (and poſſibly there may be an earlier edition,) called, *The Metamorphoſis of Ajax*, where I ſuſpect an alluſion to the old play: "Reade the *booke* of *Taming a Shrew*, which hath made a number of us ſo perfect, that *now* every one can rule a ſhrew in our countrey, ſave he that hath hir."—I am aware, a *modern* linguiſt may object, that the word *book* does not at preſent ſeem *dramatick*, but it was once almoſt *technically* ſo: Goſſon, in his *Schoole of Abuſe*, "contayning a pleaſaunt inuective againſt *Poets*, *Pipers*, *Players*, *Jeſters*, and ſuch like *Caterpillars* of a common-wealth," 1579, mentions "twoo proſe *bookes* plaied at the Belſauage;" and Hearne

tells us in a note at the end of *William of Worceſter*, that he had ſeen "a MS. in the nature of a *play* or *interlude*, intitled, *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*." [4]

And in fact, there is ſuch an old *anonymous* play in Mr. Pope's liſt. "A pleaſant conceited Hiſtory, called, *The Taming of a Shrew*—ſundry times acted by the Earl of Pembroke his Servants." Which ſeems to have been republiſhed by the remains of that company in 1607, when Shakſpeare's copy

[4] I know indeed, there is extant a very old poem, in *black letter*, to which it might have been ſuppoſed Sir John Harrington alluded, had he not ſpoken of the diſcovery as a *new* one, and recommended it as worthy the notice of his countrymen: I am perſuaded the method in the old bard will not be thought *either*. At the end of the fixth volume of *Leland's Itinerary*, we are *favoured* by Mr. Hearne with a Macaronick poem on a battle at Oxford between the ſcholars and the townſmen: on a line of which,

"Invadunt aulas *bycheſon cum forth* geminantes,"

our commentator very wiſely and gravely remarks: "*Bycheſon*, id eſt, *ſon* of a *byche*, ut è codice Rawlinſoniano edidi. Eo nempe modo quo et olim *whorſon* dixerunt pro *ſon of a whore*. Exempla habemus cum alibi tum in libello quodam lepido & antiquo (inter codices Seldenianos in Bibl. Bodl.) qui inſcribitur: *The Wife lapped in Morel's Skyn: or the Taming of a Shrew*. Ubi pag. 36, ſic legimus:

"They wreſtled togyther thus they two
"So long that the clothes aſunder went.
"And to the ground he threwe her tho,
"That cleane from the backe her ſmock he rent.
"In every hand a rod he gate,
"And layd upon her a right good pace:
"Aſking of her what game was that,
"And ſhe cried out, *Horeſon*, alas, alas."

Et pag. 42:

"Come downe now in this ſeller ſo deepe,
"And morels ſkin there ſhall you ſee:
"With many a rod that hath made me to weepe,
"When the blood ranne downe faſt by my knee.
"The mother this beheld, and cryed out, alas:
"And ran out of the ſeller as ſhe had been wood.
"She came to the table where the company was,
"And ſayd out, *horeſon*, I will ſee thy harte blood."

appeared at the Black-Friars or the Globe.—Nor let this ſeem derogatory from the character of our poet. There is no reaſon to believe, that he wanted to claim the play as his own; it was not even printed till ſome years after his death: but he merely revived it on his ſtage as a *manager*.—Ravenſcroft aſſures us, that this was really the caſe with *Titus Andronicus*; which, it may be obſerved, hath not Shakſpeare's name on the title-page of the only edition publiſhed in his life-time. Indeed, from every internal mark, I have not the leaſt doubt but this *horrible* piece was originally written by the author of the *lines* thrown into the mouth of the *player* in *Hamlet*, and of the tragedy of *Locrine:* which likewiſe from ſome aſſiſtance perhaps given to his friend, hath been unjuſtly and ignorantly charged upon Shakſpeare.

But the *ſheet-anchor* holds faſt: Shakſpeare himſelf hath left ſome tranſlations from Ovid. "The Epiſtles," ſays one, "of Paris and Helen, give a ſufficient proof of his acquaintance with *that* poet:" "And it may be concluded," ſays another, "that he was a competent judge of *other* authors, who wrote in the ſame language."

This hath been the univerſal cry, from Mr. Pope himſelf to the criticks of yeſterday. Poſſibly, however, the gentlemen will heſitate a moment, if we tell them, that Shakſpeare was *not* the author of theſe tranſlations. Let them turn to a forgotten book, by Thomas Heywood, called, *Britaines Troy*, printed by W. Jaggard in 1609, fol. and they will find theſe identical Epiſtles, "which being ſo pertinent to our hiſtorie," ſays Heywood, "*I* thought neceſſarie to tranſlate."—How then came they aſcribed to Shakſpeare? We will tell them that likewiſe. The ſame voluminous writer publiſhed an *Apology for Actors*, 4to. 1612, and in

an Appendix directed to his new printer, Nic. Okes, he accuſes his old one, Jaggard, of "taking the two *Epiſtles of Paris to Helen* and *Helen to Paris*, and printing them in a leſs volume, and under the name of *another*:—but *he* was much offended with Maſter Jaggard, that altogether unknowne to him, he had preſumed to make ſo bold with his name."[5] In the ſame work of Heywood are all the other tranſlations, which have been printed in the modern editions of the poems of Shakſpeare.

You now hope for land: We have ſeen through little matters, but what muſt be done with a whole book?—In 1751, was reprinted, "A compendious or brieſe Examination of certayne ordinary Complaints of diuers of our Countrymen in theſe our Days: which although they are in ſome Parte unjuſt and friuolous, yet are they all by way of Dialogue throughly debated and diſcuſſed by William Shakſpeare, Gentleman." 8vo.

This extraordinary piece was originally publiſhed in 4to. 1581, and dedicated by the author, "To the moſt vertuous and learned lady, his moſt deare and ſoveraigne princeſſe, Elizabeth; being inforced by her Majeſties late and ſingular clemency in pardoning certayne his unduetifull miſdemeanour." And by the modern editors, to the late King; as "a treatiſe compoſed by the moſt extenſive and fertile genius, that ever any age or nation produced."

[5] It may ſeem little matter of wonder, that the name of Shakſpeare ſhould be borrowed for the benefit of the bookſeller; and by the way, as probably for a *play* as a *poem*: but modern criticks may be ſurpriſed perhaps at the complaint of John Hall, that "certayne chapters of the *Proverbes*, tranſlated by him into Engliſh metre, 1550, had before been untruely *entituled* to be the doyngs of Mayſter *Thomas Sternhold*."

Here we join iſſue with the writers of that excellent though very unequal work, the *Biographia Britannica*:[6] "If," ſay they, "this piece could be written by our poet, it would be abſolutely deciſive in the diſpute about his learning; for many

[6] I muſt however correct a remark in the *Life of Spenſer*, which is impotently levelled at the firſt criticks of the age. It is obſerved from the correſpondence of Spenſer and Gabriel Harvey, that the plan of *The Fairy Queen*, was laid, and part of it executed in 1580, *three* years before the *Gieruſalemme Liberata* was printed: "hence appears the impertinence of all the apologies for his choice of *Arioſto's* manner in preference of *Taſſo's!*"

But the fact is not true with reſpect to Taſſo. Manſo and Niceron inform us, that his poem was publiſhed, though imperfectly, in 1574; and I myſelf can aſſure the biographer, that I have met with at leaſt *ſix* other editions, preceding his date for its firſt publication. I ſuſpect, that Baillet is accountable for this miſtake: who in the *Jugemens des Scavans*, Tom. III. p. 399, mentions no edition previous to the quarto, *Venice*, 1583.

It is a queſtion of long ſtanding, whether a part of *The Fairy Queen* hath been *loſt*, or whether the work was left *unfiniſhed:* which may effectually be anſwered by a ſingle quotation. William Browne publiſhed ſome Poems in fol. 1616, under the name of *Britannia's Paſtorals*, "eſteemed *then*," ſays Wood, "to be written in a ſublime ſtrain, and for ſubject *amorous* and *very pleaſing*."—In one of which, Book II. Song 1, he thus ſpeaks of Spenſer:

"He ſung th' heroicke knights of faiery land
"In lines ſo elegant, of ſuch command,
"That had the Thracian plaid but halfe ſo well,
"He had not left Eurydice in hell.
"But *e're he ended his melodious ſong*,
"An hoſt of *angels* flew the clouds among,
"And rapt this ſwan from his attentive mates,
"To make him one of their aſſociates
"In heauens faire quire: where now he ſings the praiſe
"Of him that is the *firſt and laſt of daies*."

It appears, that Browne was intimate with Drayton, Jonſon, and Selden, by their poems prefixed to his book: he had therefore good opportunities of being acquainted with the fact abovementioned. Many of his poems remain in MS. We have in our library at Emmanuel a maſque of his, preſented at the Inner Temple, Jan. 13, 1614. The ſubject is the ſtory of Ulyſſes and Circe.

quotations appear in it from the Greek and Latin claſſicks."

The concurring circumſtances of the *name*, and the *miſdemeanor*, which is ſuppoſed to be the old ſtory of *deer-ſtealing*, ſeem fairly to challenge our poet for the author: but they heſitate.—His claim may appear to be confuted by the date 1581, when Shakſpeare was only *ſeventeen*, and the *long* experience, which the writer talks of.—But I will not keep you in ſuſpenſe: the book was *not* written by Shakſpeare.

Strype, in his *Annals*, calls the author SOME *learned man*, and this gave me the firſt ſuſpicion. I knew very well, that honeſt John (to uſe the language of Sir Thomas Bodley) did not waſte his time with ſuch *baggage books* as *plays* and *poems*; yet I muſt ſuppoſe, that he had heard of the name of Shakſpeare. After a while I met with the original edition. Here in the title-page, and at the end of the dedication, appear only the initials, W. S. Gent. and preſently I was informed by Anthony Wood, that the book in queſtion was written, not by William Shakſpeare, but by William Stafford, Gentleman:[7] which at once accounted for the *miſdemeanour* in the dedication. For Stafford had been concerned at that time, and was indeed afterward, as Camden and the other annaliſts inform us, with ſome of the conſpirators againſt Elizabeth; which he properly calls his *unduetifull* behaviour.

I hope by this time, that any one open to conviction may be nearly ſatisfied; and I will promiſe to give you on this head very little more trouble.

[7] *Faſti*, 2d edit. v. 1, 208.—It will be ſeen on turning to the former edition, that the latter part of the paragraph belongs to another Stafford.—I have ſince obſerved, that Wood is not the firſt, who hath given us the true author of the pamphlet.

The juſtly celebrated Mr. Warton hath favoured us, in his *Life of Dr. Bathurſt*, with ſome *hearſay* particulars concerning Shakſpeare from the papers of Aubrey, which had been in the hands of Wood; and I ought not to ſuppreſs them, as the *laſt* ſeems to make againſt my doctrine. They came originally, I find, on conſulting the MS. from one Mr. Beeſton: and I am ſure Mr. Warton, whom I have the honour to call my friend, and an aſſociate in the queſtion, will be in no pain about their credit.

"William Shakſpeare's father was a butcher,—while he was a boy he exerciſed his father's trade, but when he killed a calf, he would do it in a high ſtyle, and make a ſpeech. This William being inclined *naturally* to poetry and acting, came to London, I gueſs, about *eighteen*, and was an actor in one of the playhouſes, and did act *exceedingly well*. He began *early* to make eſſays in dramatique poetry.—The humour of the Conſtable in the *Midſummer Night's Dream* he happened to take at Crendon[8] in Bucks.—I think, I have been told, that he left near three hundred pounds to a *ſiſter*.—*He underſtood Latin pretty well*, FOR *he had been in his younger yeares a ſchoolmaſter in the country*."

I will be ſhort in my animadverſions; and take them in their order.

The account of the *trade* of the family is not only contrary to all other tradition, but, as it may ſeem, to the inſtrument from the Herald's Office,

[8] It was obſerved in the former edition, that this place is not met with in *Spelman's Villare*, or in *Adams's Index*; nor, it might have been added, in the *firſt* and the *laſt* performance of this ſort, *Speed's Table*, and *Whatley's Gazetteer*: perhaps, however, it may be meant under the name of *Crandon*;—but the inquiry is of no importance.—It ſhould, I think, be written *Credendon*; though better antiquaries than Aubrey have acquieſced in the vulgar cor-

ſo frequently reprinted.——Shakſpeare moſt certainly went to London, and commenced actor through neceſſity, not natural inclination.—Nor have we any reaſon to ſuppoſe, that he did act *exceeding well.* Rowe tells us, from the information of Betterton, who was inquiſitive into this point, and had very early opportunities of inquiry from Sir W. D'Avenant, that he was no *extraordinary actor*; and that the top of his performance was the Ghoſt in his own *Hamlet.* Yet this *chef d' oeuvre* did not pleaſe: I will give you an original ſtroke at it. Dr. Lodge, who was for ever peſtering the town with pamphlets, publiſhed in the year 1596, *Wits Miſerie, and the Worlds Madneſſe, diſcovering the Devils incarnat of this Age,* 4to. One of theſe devils is *Hate-virtue,* or *Sorrow for another man's good ſucceſſe,* who, ſays the Doctor, is "*a foule lubber,* and looks as pale as the viſard of the Ghoſt, which cried ſo miſerably at the theatre, like an oiſter-wife, *Hamlet revenge.*"[9] Thus you ſee Mr.

[9] To this obſervation of Dr. Farmer it may be added, that the play of Hamlet was better known by this ſcene, than by any other. In Decker's *Satiromaſtix,* 1602, the following paſſage occurs:

Aſinius.

"Would I were hang'd if I can call you any names but captain, and *Tucca.*"

Tucca.

"No, fye; my name's *Hamlet Revenge:* thou haſt been at Paris-Garden, haſt thou not?"

Again, in *Weſtward Hoe,* by Decker and Webſter, 1607:

"Let theſe huſbands play *mad Hamlet, and cry, revenge!*"

STEEVENS.

Dr. Farmer's obſervation may be further confirmed by the following paſſage in an anonymous play, called *A Warning for faire Women,* 1599. We alſo learn from it the uſual dreſs of the ſtage ghoſts of that time:

"——A filthie whining ghoſt,
"Lapt in ſome foule ſheet, or a *leather pilch,*

Holt's ſuppoſed *proof*, in the Appendix to the late edition, that *Hamlet* was written after 1597, or perhaps 1602, will by no means hold good; whatever might be the caſe of the particular paſſage on which it is founded.

Nor does it appear, that Shakſpeare did begin early to make *eſſays in dramatick poetry: The Arraignment of Paris*, 1584, which hath ſo often been aſcribed to him on the credit of Kirkman and Winſtanley,[2] was written by George Peele; and Shakſpeare is not met with, even as an *aſſiſtant*, till at leaſt ſeven years afterward.[3]—Naſh, in his *Epiſtle to the Gentlemen Students of both Univerſities*, prefixed to Greene's *Arcadia*, 4to. *black letter*, recommends his friend, Peele, "as the chiefe ſupporter of pleaſance now living, the Atlas of poetrie, and *primus verborum artifex:* whoſe firſt increaſe, *The Arraignment of Paris*, might plead to their opinions his pregnant dexteritie of wit, and manifold varietie of inuention."[4]

"Comes ſcreaming like a pigge half ſtickt,
"And cries *vindicta—revenge, revenge.*"

The leathern pilch, I ſuppoſe, was a theatrical ſubſtitute for armour. MALONE.

[2] Theſe people, who were the *Curls* of the laſt age, aſcribe likewiſe to our author, thoſe miſerable performances, *Mucidorus*, and *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*.

[3] Mr. Pope aſſerts, "The troubleſome Raigne of *King John*," in two parts, 1611, to have been written by Shakſpeare and Rowley:—which edition is a mere copy of another in black letter, 1591. But I find his aſſertion is ſomewhat to be doubted: for the old edition hath no name of *author* at all; and that of 1611, the initials only, *W. Sh.* in the title-page.*

[4] Peele ſeems to have been taken into the patronage of the Earl of Northumberland about 1593, to whom he dedicates in that year, "*The Honour of the Garter*, a poem gratulatorie—the *firſtling*

* See the *Eſſay on the Order of Shakſpeare's Plays*, Article, *King John*. MALONE.

In the next place, unfortunately, there is neither ſuch a character as a *Conſtable* in the *Midſummer Night's Dream:* nor was the *three hundred pounds* legacy to a *ſiſter*, but a *daughter*.

And to cloſe the whole, it is not poſſible, according to Aubrey himſelf, that Shakſpeare could have been ſome *years a ſchoolmaſter in the country:* on which circumſtance only the ſuppoſition of his learning is profeſſedly founded. He was not ſurely *very* young, when he was employed to *kill calves*, and commenced player about *eighteen!*—The truth is, that he left his father, for a wife, a year ſooner; and had at leaſt two children born at Stratford before he retired from thence to London. It is therefore ſufficiently clear, that poor Anthony had too much reaſon for his character of Aubrey. You will find it in his own account of his life, publiſhed by

conſecrated to his noble name."—"He was eſteemed," ſays Anthony Wood, "a moſt noted poet, 1579; but when or where he died, I cannot tell, for *ſo it is*, and always *hath been*, that moſt POETS die *poor*, and conſequently obſcurely, and a hard matter it is to trace them to their graves. *Claruit* 1599." *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 300.

We had lately in a periodical pamphlet, called, *The Theatrical Review*, a very *curious* letter under the name of George Peele, to one Maſter Henrie Marle; relative to a diſpute between Shakſpeare and Alleyn, which was compromiſed by Ben Jonſon.—"I never longed for thy companye more than laſt night; we were all verie merrie at the Globe, when Ned Alleyn did not ſcruple to affyrme pleaſauntly to thy friende Will, that he had ſtolen hys ſpeeche about the excellencie of acting in *Hamlet* hys tragedye, from converſaytions manifold, whych had paſſed between them, and opinions gyven by Alleyn touching that ſubject. Shakſpeare did not take this talk in good ſorte; but Jonſon did put an end to the fityſe wyth wittielie ſaying, thys affaire needeth no contentione: you ſtole it from Ned no doubte: do not marvel: haue you not ſeene hym acte tymes out of number?"—This is pretended to be printed from the original MS. dated 1600; which agrees well enough with Wood's *Claruit:* but unluckily, Peele was dead at leaſt two years before. "As Anacreon died by the *pot*, ſays Meres, ſo George Peele by the *pox*." *Wit's Treaſury*, 1598, p. 286.

Hearne, which I would earneſtly recommend to any hypochondriack:

"A pretender to antiquities, roving, magotie-headed, and ſometimes little better than craſed: and being exceedingly credulous, would ſtuff his many letters ſent to A. W. with *folliries* and miſ-informations." P. 577.

Thus much for the learning of Shakſpeare with reſpect to the ancient languages: indulge me with an obſervation or two on the ſuppoſed knowledge of the modern ones, and I will promiſe to releaſe you.

"It is *evident*," we have been told, "that he was not unacquainted with the Italian:" but let us inquire into the *evidence*.

Certainly ſome Italian words and phraſes appear in the works of Shakſpeare; yet if we had nothing elſe to obſerve, their orthography might lead us to ſuſpect them to be not of the writer's importation. But we can go further, and prove this.

When Piſtol "cheers up himſelf with ends of verſe," he is only a copy of Hanniball Gonſaga, who ranted on yielding himſelf a priſoner to an Engliſh captain in the Low Countries, as you may read in an old collection of tales, called *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*,[5]

"Si fortuna me tormenta,
"Il ſperanza me contenta."

And Sir Richard Hawkins, in his voyage to the South-Sea, 1593, throws out the ſame jingling diſtich on the loſs of his pinnace.

[5] By one Anthony Copley, 4to. black letter, it ſeems to have had many editions: perhaps the laſt was in 1614.—The firſt piece of this ſort, that I have met with, was printed by T. Berthelet, though not mentioned by Ames, called, "Tales, and quicke anſweres very mery and pleaſant to rede." 4to. no date.

" Maſter Page, ſit; good Maſter Page, ſit; *Proface.* What you want in meat, we'll have in drink," ſays Juſtice Shallow's *fac totum*, Davy, in the Second Part of *Henry IV.*

Proface, Sir Thomas Hanmer obſerves to be Italian, from *profaccia, much good may it do you.* Mr. Johnſon rather thinks it a miſtake for *perforce.* Sir Thomas however is right; yet it is no argument for his author's Italian knowledge.

Old Heywood, the epigrammatiſt, addreſſed his readers long before,

> " Readers, reade this thus: for preface, *proface*,
> " Much good do it you, the poore repaſt here," &c.
> *Woorkes*, Lond. 4to. 1562.

And Dekker in his play, *If it be not good, the Diuel is in it*, (which is certainly true, for it is full of devils,) makes Shackle-ſoule, in the character of Friar Ruſh, tempt his brethren with " choice of diſhes,"

> " To which *proface*; with blythe lookes ſit yee."

Nor hath it eſcaped the quibbling manner of the *Water-poet*, in the title of a poem prefixed to his *Praiſe of Hempſeed:* " A Preamble, Preatrot, Preagallop, Preapace, or Preface; and *Proface*, my Maſters, if your Stomacks ſerve."

But the editors are not contented without coining Italian. " *Rivo, ſays the drunkard,*" is an expreſſion of the *madcap* Prince of Wales; which Sir Thomas Hanmer corrects to *Ribi, drink away*, or *again*, as it ſhould be rather tranſlated. Dr. Warburton accedes to this; and Mr. Johnſon hath admitted it into his text; but with an obſervation, that *Rivo* might poſſibly be the cant of Engliſh taverns. And ſo indeed it was: it occurs frequently

in Marſton. Take a quotation from his comedy of *What you will*, 1607:

" Muſicke, tobacco, ſacke, and ſleepe,
" The tide of ſorrow backward keep:
" If thou art ſad at others fate,
" *Rivo*, drink deep, give care the mate."

In *Love's Labour Loſt*, Boyet calls Don Armado,

" —— A Spaniard that keeps here in court,
" A phantaſme, a *monarcho*.——"

Here too Sir Thomas is willing to palm Italian upon us. We ſhould read, it ſeems, *mammuccio*, a mammet, or puppet: Ital. *Mammuccia*. But the alluſion is to a fantaſtical *character* of the time.—" Popular applauſe," ſays Meres, " dooth nouriſh ſome, neither do they gape after any other thing, but vaine praiſe and glorie,—as in our age Peter Shakerlye of Paules, and MONARCHO that liued about the court." P. 178.

I fancy, you will be ſatisfied with one more inſtance.

" *Baccare*, You are marvellous forward," quoth Gremio to Petruchio in the *Taming of a Shrew*.

" But not ſo *forward*," ſays Mr. Theobald, " as our editors are *indolent*. This is a ſtupid corruption of the preſs, that none of them have dived into. We muſt read *Baccalare*, as Mr. Warburton acutely obſerved to me, by which the Italians mean, Thou ignorant, preſumptuous man."—" Properly, indeed," adds Mr. Heath, " a *graduated* ſcholar, but ironically and ſarcaſtically, a *pretender* to ſcholarſhip."

This is admitted by the editors and criticks of every denomination. Yet the word is neither wrong, nor Italian: it was an old proverbial one, uſed fre-

quently by John Heywood; who hath made, what he pleaſes to call, *epigrams* upon it.

Take two of them, ſuch as they are:

> " *Backare*, quoth Mortimer to his ſow:
> " Went that ſow *backe* at that biddyng trowe you?"
>
> " *Backare*, quoth Mortimer to his ſow: ſe
> " Mortimers ſow ſpeakth as good *latin* as he."

Howel takes this from Heywood, in his *Old Sawes and Adages:* and Philpot introduces it into the Proverbs collected by Camden.

We have but few obſervations concerning Shakſpeare's knowledge of the Spaniſh tongue. Dr. Grey indeed is willing to ſuppoſe, that the plot of *Romeo and Juliet* may be borrowed from a COMEDY of Lopes de Vega. But the Spaniard, who was certainly acquainted with Bandello, hath not only changed the cataſtrophe, but the names of the characters. Neither Romeo nor Juliet; neither Montague nor Capulet, appears in this performance: and how came they to the knowledge of Shakſpeare?—Nothing is more certain, than that he chiefly followed the tranſlation by Painter, from the French of Boiſteau, and hence ariſe the deviations from Bandello's original Italian.[6] It ſeems, however, from a paſſage in Ames's *Typographical*

[6] It is remarked, that " Paris, though in one place called *earl*, is moſt commonly ſtiled the *countie* in this play. Shakſpeare ſeems to have preferred, for ſome reaſon or other, the Italian *conte* to our *count:*—perhaps he took it from the old Engliſh novel, from which he is ſaid to have taken his plot."—He certainly did ſo: Paris is there firſt ſtiled *a young earle*, and afterward, *counte*, *countee*, and *county*; according to the unſettled orthograpy of the time.

The word however is frequently met with in other writers; particularly in Fairfax:

Antiquities, that Painter was not the only tranſlator of this popular ſtory: and it is poſſible therefore, that Shakſpeare might have other aſſiſtance.

In the Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew*, the Tinker attempts to talk Spaniſh: and *conſequently* the author himſelf was acquainted with it.

> " *Paucus pallabris*, let the world ſlide, *ſeſſa*."

But this is a burleſque on *Hieronymo*; the piece of bombaſt, that I have mentioned to you before:

> " What new device have they deviſed, trow?
> " *Pocas pallabras*," &c.——

Mr. Whalley tells us, the author of this piece hath the happineſs to be at this time unknown, the remembrance of him having periſhed with himſelf:" Philips and others aſcribe it to one William Smith: but I take this opportunity of informing him, that it was written by Thomas Kyd; if he will accept the authority of his contemporary, Heywood.

More hath been ſaid concerning Shakſpeare's acquaintance with the French language. In the

> " As when a captaine doth beſiege ſome hold,
> " Set in a mariſh or high on a hill,
> " And trieth waies and wiles a thouſand fold,
> " To bring the piece ſubjected to his will;
> " So far'd the *counte* with the pagan bold." &c.
>
> *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, Book VII. ſt. 90.

" Fairfax," ſays Mr. Hume, hath tranſlated Taſſo with an elegance and eaſe, and at the ſame time with an exactneſs, which for that age are ſurpriſing. Each line in the original is faithfully rendered by a correſpondent line in the tranſlation." The former part of this character is extremely true; but the latter not quite ſo. In the book above quoted Taſſo and Fairfax do not even agree in the number of *ſtanzas*.

play of *Henry V.* we have a whole ſcene in it, and in other places it occurs familiarly in the dialogue.

We may obſerve in general, that the early editions have not half the quantity; and every ſentence, or rather every word moſt ridiculouſly blundered. Theſe, for ſeveral reaſons, could not poſſibly be publiſhed by the author;[7] and it is

[7] Every writer on Shakſpeare hath expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, that his author was not ſolicitous to ſecure his fame by a correct edition of his performances. This matter is not underſtood. When a poet was connected with a particular playhouſe, he conſtantly ſold his works to the *Company*, and it was their intereſt to keep them from a number of rivals. A favourite piece, as Heywood informs us, only got into print, when it was copied *by the ear*, "for a double ſale would bring on a ſuſpicion of honeſtie." Shakſpeare therefore himſelf publiſhed nothing in the drama: when he left the ſtage, his copies remained with his fellow-managers, Heminge and Condell; who at their own retirement, about ſeven years after the death of their author, gave the world the edition now known by the name of the *firſt folio*; and call the previous publications "ſtolne and ſurreptitious, maimed and deformed by the frauds and ſtealths of injurious impoſtors." But *this* was printed from the playhouſe copies; which in a ſeries of years had been frequently altered, through convenience, caprice, or ignorance. We have a ſufficient inſtance of the liberties taken by the actors, in an old pamphlet by Naſh, called *Lenten Stuffe, with the Prayſe of the red Herring*, 4to. 1599, where he aſſures us, that in a play of his, called *The Iſle of Dogs*, "*foure acts*, without his conſent, or the leaſt gueſſe of his drift or ſcope, were ſupplied by the players."

This however was not his firſt quarrel with them. In the Epiſtle prefixed to *Greene's Arcadia*, which I have quoted before, Tom. hath a laſh at ſome "vaine glorious tragedians," and very plainly at Shakſpeare in particular; which will ſerve for an anſwer to an obſervation of Mr. Pope, that had almoſt been forgotten: "It was thought a praiſe to Shakſpeare, that he ſcarce ever blotted a line:—I believe the common opinion of his want of learning proceeded from no better ground. This too might be thought a *praiſe* by ſome."—But hear Naſh, who was far from *praiſing*: "I leave all theſe to the mercy of their *mother-tongue*, that feed on nought but the crums that fall from the *tranſlator's* trencher.—That could ſcarcely *Latinize* their neck verſe if they ſhould haue neede, yet *Engliſh Seneca* read by candlelight yeelds many good ſentences—

extremely probable, that the French ribaldry was at firſt inſerted by a different hand, as the many additions moſt certainly were after he had left the ſtage.—Indeed, every friend to his memory will not eaſily believe, that he was acquainted with the ſcene between Catharine and the old gentlewoman; or ſurely he would not have admitted ſuch obſcenity and nonſenſe.

Mr. Hawkins, in the Appendix to Mr. Johnſon's edition, hath an ingenious obſervation to prove, that Shakſpeare, ſuppoſing the French to be his, had very little knowledge of the language.

"Eſt-il impoſſible d'eſchapper la force de ton *bras?*" ſays a Frenchman.—"*Braſs*, cur?" replies Piſtol.

"Almoſt any one knows, that the French word *bras* is pronounced *brau*; and what reſemblance of ſound does this bear to *braſs?*"

Mr. Johnſon makes a doubt, whether the pro-

hee will affoord you whole *Hamlets*, I ſhould ſay, *handfuls* of tragicall ſpeeches."—I cannot determine exactly when this *Epiſtle* was firſt publiſhed; but, I fancy, it will carry the original *Hamlet* ſomewhat further back than we have hitherto done: and it may be obſerved, that the oldeſt copy now extant is ſaid to be "enlarged to almoſt as much againe as it was." Gabriel Harvey printed at the end of the year 1592, *Foure Letters and certaine Sonnetts, eſpecially touching Robert Greene:* in one of which his *Arcadia* is mentioned. Now Naſh's Epiſtle muſt have been previous to theſe, as Gabriel is quoted in it with applauſe; and the *Foure Letters* were the beginning of a quarrel. Naſh replied, in *Strange newes of the intercepting certaine Letters, and a Convoy of Verſes, as they were going* privilie *to victual the Low Countries*, 1593. Harvey rejoined the ſame year in *Pierce's Supererogation, or a new praiſe of the old Aſſe.*" And Naſh again, in *Have with you to Saffron Walden, or Gabriell Harvey's Hunt is up; containing a full anſwer to the eldeſt Sonne of the halter-maker*, 1596.

Dr. Lodge calls Naſh our *true Engliſh Aretine:* and John Taylor in his *Kickſey Winſey, or a Lerry Come-twang*, even makes an oath "by ſweet ſatyricke Naſh his urne."—He died before 1606, as appears from an old comedy, called *The Return from Parnaſſus.*

nunciation of the French language may not be changed, ſince Shakſpeare's time, "if not," ſays he, "it may be ſuſpected that ſome other man wrote the French ſcenes:" but this does not appear to be the caſe, at leaſt in this termination, from the rules of the grammarians, or the practice of the poets. I am certain of the former from the *French Alphabeth* of De la Mothe,[8] and the *Orthoepia Gallica* of John Eliot;[9] and of the latter from the rhymes of Marot, Ronſard, and Du Bartas.—Connections of this kind were very common. Shakſpeare himſelf aſſiſted Ben Jonſon in his *Sejanus*, as it was originally written; and Fletcher in his *Two Noble Kinſmen*.

But what if the French ſcene were occaſionally introduced into every play on this ſubject? and perhaps there were more than one before our poet's.—In *Pierce Penileſſe, his Supplication to the Deuill*, 4to. 1592, (which, it ſeems, from the Epiſtle to the Printer, was not in the firſt edition,) the author, Naſh, exclaims, "What a glorious thing it is to have *Henry the Fifth* repreſented on the ſtage leading the *French King* priſoner, and forcing both him and the *Dolphin* to ſwear fealty!"—And it appears from the Jeſts of the famous comedian, Tarlton, 4to. 1611, that he had been particularly celebrated in the part of the Clown, in *Henry the Fifth*; but no ſuch character exiſts in the play of Shakſpeare.

[8] *Lond.* 1592, 8vo.

[9] *Lond.* 1593, 4to. Eliot is almoſt the only witty grammarian that I have had the fortune to meet with. In his Epiſtle prefatory to *The Gentle Doctors of Gaule*, he cries out for perſecution, very like Jack in that moſt poignant of all ſatires, the *Tale of a Tub*, "I pray you be readie quicklie to cauill at my booke, I beſeech you heartily calumniate my doings with ſpeede, I requeſt you humbly controll my method as ſoone as you may, I earneſtly entreat you hiſſe at my inventions," &c.

father, during his life, ſhall name, call, and write us in French in this maner: Noſtre *tres chier* filz, Henry roy d'Engleterre—and in Latine in this maner, *Præclariſſimus* filius noſter." Edit. 1587, p. 574.

To corroborate this inſtance, let me obſerve to you, though it be nothing further to the purpoſe, that another error of the ſame kind hath been the ſource of a miſtake in an hiſtorical paſſage of our author; which hath ridiculouſly troubled the criticks.

Richard the Third[5] harangues his army before the battle of Boſworth:

> " Remember whom ye are to cope withal,
> " A ſort of vagabonds, of raſcals, runaways—
> " And who doth lead them but a paltry fellow
> " Long kept in Britaine at *our mother's* coſt,
> " A milkſop," &c.——

" *Our* mother," Mr. Theobald perceives to be

[5] Some inquiry hath been made for the firſt performers of the capital characters in Shakſpeare.

We learn, that Burbage, the *alter Roſcius* of Camden, was the original *Richard*, from a paſſage in the poems of Biſhop Corbet; who introduces his hoſt at Boſworth deſcribing the battle:

> " But when he would have ſaid King Richard died,
> " And call'd *a horſe, a horſe*, he *Burbage* cried."

The play on this ſubject mentioned by Sir John Harrington in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, 1591, and ſometimes miſtaken for Shakſpeare's, was a Latin one, and written by Dr. Legge; and acted at St. John's in our univerſity, ſome years before 1588, the date of the copy in the Muſeum. This appears from a better MS. in our library at Emmanuel, with the names of the original performers.

It is evident from a paſſage in *Camden's Annals*, that there was an old play likewiſe on the ſubject of *Richard the Second*; but I know not in what language. Sir Gelley Merrick, who was concerned in the harebrained buſineſs of the Earl of Eſſex, and was hanged for it with the ingenious Cuffe, in 1601, is accuſed amongſt other things, " quod *exoletam* Tragœdiam de tragicâ abdicatione Regis Ricardi Secundi in publico theatro coram conjuratis datâ pecuniâ agi curaſſet."

wrong, and Henry was ſomewhere ſecreted on the *continent:* he reads therefore, and all the editors after him,

" Long kept in Bretagne at *his* mother's coſt."

But give me leave to tranſcribe a few more lines from Holinſhed, and you will find at once, that Shakſpeare had been there before me:——" Ye ſee further, how a companie of traitors, theeves, outlaws and runnagates be aiders and partakers of his feat and enterpriſe.—And to begin with the erle of Richmond captaine of this rebellion, he is a Welſh milkſop—brought up by *my moother's* meanes and mine, like a captive in a cloſe cage in the court of Francis duke of Britaine." P. 756.

Holinſhed copies this *verbatim* from his brother chronicler Hall, edit. 1548, fol. 54; but his printer hath given us by accident the word *moother* inſtead of *brother*; as it is in the original, and ought to be in Shakſpeare.[6]

I hope, my good friend, you have by this time acquitted our great poet of all piratical depredations on the ancients, and are ready to receive my *concluſion.*—He remembered perhaps enough of his *ſchool-boy* learning to put the *Hig, hag, hog*, into the

[6] I cannot take my leave of Holinſhed without clearing up a difficulty, which hath puzzled his biographers. Nicholſon and other writers have *ſuppoſed* him a *clergyman*. Tanner goes further, and tells us, that he was educated at Cambridge, and actually took the degree of M. A. in 1544. Yet it appears by his will, printed by Hearne, that at the end of life he was only a *ſteward*, or a *ſervant* in ſome capacity or other, to Thomas Burdett, Eſq. of Bromcote, in Warwickſhire.—Theſe things Dr. Campbell could not reconcile. The truth is, we have no claim to the education of the *Chronicler:* the M. A. in 1544, was not *Raphael*, but one Ottiwell *Holingſhed*, who was afterward named by the founder one of the firſt Fellows of Trinity College.

mouth of Sir Hugh Evans; and might pick up in the writers of the time,[7] or the courſe of his converſation, a familiar phraſe or two of French or Italian: but his *ſtudies* were moſt demonſtratively confined to *nature* and *his own language*.

In the courſe of this diſquiſition, you have often ſmiled at "all ſuch reading, as was never read;" and poſſibly I may have indulged it too far: but it is the reading neceſſary for a comment on Shakſpeare. Thoſe who apply ſolely to the ancients for this purpoſe, may with equal wiſdom ſtudy the TALMUD for an expoſition of TRISTRAM SHANDY. Nothing but an intimate acquaintance with the writers of the time, who are frequently of no other value, can point out his alluſions, and aſcertain his phraſeology. The reformers of his text are for ever equally poſitive, and equally wrong. The cant of the age, a provincial expreſſion, an obſcure proverb, an obſolete cuſtom, a hint at a perſon or a fact no longer remembered, hath continually defeated the beſt of our *gueſſers*: You muſt not ſuppoſe me to ſpeak at random, when I aſſure you, that from ſome forgotten book or other, I can demonſtrate this to you in many hundred places; and I almoſt wiſh, that I had not been perſuaded into a different employment.

[7] Aſcham in the Epiſtle prefixed to his *Toxophilus*, 1571, obſerves of them, that "Manye Engliſhe writers, uſinge ſtraunge wordes, as *Lattine*, *Frenche*, and *Italian*, do make all thinges darke and harde. Ones," ſays he, "I communed with a man which reaſoned the Engliſhe tongue to be enriched and encreaſed thereby, ſayinge: Who will not prayſe that feaſt, where a man ſhall drincke at a dinner both wyne, ale, and beere? Truly (quoth I) they be al good, euery one taken by himſelfe alone, but if you put Malmeſye, and ſacke, redde wyne and white, ale and beere, and al in one pot, you ſhall make a drinke neither eaſye to be knowen nor yet holſome for the bodye."

Though I have as much of the *natale ſolum*[8] about me, as any man whatſoever; yet, I own, the *primroſe path* is ſtill more pleaſing than the *Foſſe* or the *Watling-Street:*

> " Age cannot wither it, nor cuſtom ſtale
> " Its infinite variety.———"

And when I am fairly rid of the duſt of topographical antiquity, which hath continued much longer about me than I expected; you may very probably be troubled again with the ever fruitful ſubject of SHAKSPEARE and his COMMENTATORS.

[8] This alludes to an intended publication of the *Antiquities of the Town of Leiceſter.* The work was juſt begun at the preſs, when the writer was called to the principal tuition of a large college, and was obliged to decline the undertaking. The plates, however, and ſome of the materials have been long ago put into the hands of a gentleman, who is every way qualified to make a proper uſe of them.

APPENDIX

TO

MR. COLMAN'S TRANSLATION OF TERENCE,

(OCTAVO EDITION.)

THE reverend and ingenious Mr. Farmer, in his curious and entertaining *Eſſay on the Learning of Shakſpeare*, having done me the honour to animadvert on ſome paſſages in the preface to this tranſlation, I cannot diſmiſs this edition without declaring how far I coincide with that gentleman; although what I then threw out careleſsly on the ſubject of this pamphlet was merely incidental, nor did I mean to enter the liſts as a champion to defend either ſide of the queſtion.

It is moſt true, as Mr. Farmer takes for granted, that I had never met with the old comedy called *The Suppoſes*, nor has it ever yet fallen into my hands; yet I am willing to grant, on Mr. Farmer's authority, that Shakſpeare borrowed part of the plot of *The Taming of the Shrew*, from that old tranſlation of Arioſto's play by George Gaſcoign, and had no obligations to Plautus. I will accede alſo to the truth of Dr. Johnſon's and Mr. Farmer's obſervation, that the line from Terence, exactly as it ſtands in Shakſpeare, is extant in Lilly and Udall's *Floures for Latin Speaking*. Still, however, Shakſpeare's total ignorance of the learned languages remains to be proved; for it muſt be granted, that ſuch books are put into the hands of thoſe who are

learning thoſe languages, in which claſs we muſt neceſſarily rank Shakſpeare, or he could not even have quoted Terence from Udall or Lilly; nor is it likely, that ſo rapid a genius ſhould not have made ſome further progreſs. "Our author," ſays Dr. Johnſon, as quoted by Mr. Farmer, "had this line from Lilly; which I mention, that it may not be brought as an argument of his learning." It is, however, an argument that he read Lilly; and a few pages further it ſeems pretty certain, that the author of *The Taming of the Shrew* had at leaſt read Ovid; from whoſe Epiſtle we find theſe lines:

"Hàc ibat Simois; hic eſt Sigeïa tellus;
"Hic ſteterat Priami regia celſa ſenis."

And what does Dr. Johnſon ſay on this occaſion? Nothing. And what does Mr. Farmer ſay on this occaſion? Nothing.

In *Love's Labour's Loſt*, which, bad as it is, is aſcribed by Dr. Johnſon himſelf to Shakſpeare, there occurs the word *thraſonical*; another argument which ſeems to ſhew that he was not unacquainted with the comedies of Terence; not to mention, that the character of the ſchoolmaſter in the ſame play could not poſſibly be written by a man who had travelled no further in Latin than *hic, hæc, hoc.*

In *Henry the Sixth* we meet with a quotation from Virgil:

"Tantæne animis cœleſtibus iræ?"

But this, it ſeems, proves nothing, any more than the lines from Terence and Ovid, in the *Taming of the Shrew*; for Mr. Farmer looks on Shakſpeare's property in the comedy to be extremely diſputable; and he has no doubt but *Henry the Sixth* had the

ſame author with *Edward the Third*, which had been recovered to the world in Mr. Capell's Proluſions.

If any play in the collection bears internal evidence of Shakſpeare's hand, we may fairly give him *Timon of Athens*. In this play we have a familiar quotation from Horace:

"Ira furor brevis eſt."

I will not maintain but this hemiſtich may be found in Lilly or Udall; or that it is not in the *Palace of Pleaſure*, or the *Engliſh Plutarch*; or that it was not originally foiſted in by the players: it ſtands, however, in the play of *Timon of Athens*.

The world in general, and thoſe who purpoſe to comment on Shakſpeare in particular, will owe much to Mr. Farmer, whoſe reſearches into our old authors throw a luſtre on many paſſages, the obſcurity of which muſt elſe have been impenetrable. No future Upton or Gildon will go further than North's tranſlation for Shakſpeare's acquaintance with Plutarch, or balance between Dares Phrygius, and *The Troye Booke of Lydgate*. *The Hyſtorie of Hamblet*, in *black letter*, will for ever ſuperſede *Saxo Grammaticus*; tranſlated novels and ballads will, perhaps, be allowed the ſources of *Romeo*, *Lear*, and *The Merchant of Venice*; and Shakſpeare himſelf, however unlike Bayes in other particulars, will ſtand convicted of having *tranſverſed* the proſe of Holinſhed; and, at the ſame time, to prove "that his *ſtudies* lay in his own language," the tranſlations of Ovid are determined to be the production of Heywood.

"That his *ſtudies* were moſt demonſtratively confined to *nature*, and his *own language*," I readily allow: but does it hence follow that he was ſo deplorably ignorant of every other tongue, living or

lead, that he only "remembered, perhaps, enough of his *ſchool-boy* learning to put the *big, bag, hog,* into the mouth of Sir H. Evans; and might pick up in the writers of the time, or the courſe of his converſation, a familiar phraſe or two of French or Italian." In Shakſpeare's plays both theſe laſt languages are plentifully ſcattered; but, then we are told, they might be impertinent additions of the players. Undoubtedly they might: but there they are, and, perhaps, few of the players had much more learning than Shakſpeare.

Mr. Farmer himſelf will allow that Shakſpeare began to learn Latin: I will allow that his *ſtudies* lay in Engliſh: but why inſiſt that he neither made any progreſs at ſchool; nor improved his acquiſitions there? The general encomiums of Suckling, Denham, Milton, &c. on his *native genius*,[9] prove nothing; and Ben Jonſon's celebrated charge of Shakſpeare's *ſmall Latin, and leſs Greek*,[a] ſeems

[9] Mr. Farmer cloſes the general teſtimonies of Shakſpeare's having been only indebted to nature, by ſaying, "He came out of her hand, *as ſome one elſe expreſſes it*, like Pallas out of Jove's head, at full growth and mature." It is whimſical enough, that this *ſome one elſe*, whoſe expreſſion is here quoted to countenance the general notion of Shakſpeare's want of literature, ſhould be no other than myſelf. Mr. Farmer does not chooſe to mention where he met with the expreſſion of *ſome one elſe*; and *ſome one elſe* does not chooſe to mention where he dropt it.*

[a] In defence of the various reading of this paſſage, given in the Preface to the laſt edition of Shakſpeare, "ſmall Latin and *no* Greek," Mr. Farmer tells us, that "it was adopted above a century

* It will appear ſtill more whimſical that this *ſome one elſe* whoſe expreſſion is here quoted, may have his claim to it ſuperſeded by that of the late Dr. Young, who in his *Conjectures on Original Compoſition*, (p. 100, Vol. V. edit. 1773,) has the following ſentence: "An adult genius comes out of nature's hands, as Pallas out of Jove's head, at full growth and mature. Shakſpeare's genius was of this kind." Where *ſome one elſe* the *firſt* may have intermediately dropped the contracted expreſſion I cannot aſcertain; but *ſome one elſe* the *ſecond* tranſcribed it from the author already mentioned. ANON.

abſolutely to decide that he had *ſome* knowledge of both; and if we may judge by our own time, a man, who has any Greek, is ſeldom without a very competent ſhare of Latin; and yet ſuch a man is very likely to ſtudy Plutarch in Engliſh, and to read tranſlations of Ovid.

See Dr. Farmer's reply to theſe remarks by Mr. Colman, in a note on LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST, *Act IV. ſc.* ii. *p.* 258.

ago by W. Towers, in a panegyrick on Cartwright." Surely, Towers having ſaid that Cartwright had *no* Greek, is no proof that Ben Jonſon ſaid ſo of Shakſpeare."

ANCIENT TRANSLATIONS

FROM

CLASSICK AUTHORS.[2]

HOMER.

TEN Bookes of Homer's Iliades tranſlated out of French, by Arthur Hall, Eſquire. At London. Imprinted by Ralph Newberie, 4to.[3] 1581

The Shield of Achilles from the 18th Book of Homer, by Geo. Chapman, 4to. Lond. 1596

Seven Books of the Iliades, by ditto, 4to.[4] Lond. 1596

D°. — — — 1598

‡Homer Prince of Poets: tranſlated according to the Greeke in Twelve Bookes of his Iliads: By Geo. Chapman; ſmall folio. Lond. printed for Samuel Macham. *No date.*

[2] This Liſt was drawn up by Mr. Steevens. I have made a few inconſiderable additions to it, which are diſtinguiſhed by this mark ‡. MALONE.

[3] In the firſt vol. of the books of entries belonging to the Stationers' Company, is the following:

"Henry Bynneman.] Nov. 1580, lycenſed unto him under the wardens' handes ten bookes of the Iliades of Homer." Again, Samuel Macham.] Nov. 14, 1608. "Seven bookes of Homer's Iliades tranſlated into Engliſh by Geo. Chapman.—[By aſſignment from Mr. Windett.] Again, Nathaniel Butter] April 8, 1611, "A booke called Homer's Iliades in Engliſhe, containing 24 Bookes. Again, Nov. 2, 1614, "Homer's Odiſſes 24 bookes, tranſlated by George Chapman."

[4] Meres, in his *Second Part of Wits Commonwealth*, ſays that Chapman is "of good note for his inchoate Homer."

[This, I believe, was publiſhed in 1609. There are ſeveral Sonnets at the end, addreſſed to different noblemen; among them one, "to the *Lord Treaſurer*, the Earle of Saliſbury." See alſo the entry below.]

Fifteen Books of D°. thin folio — 1600

The whole Works of Homer, by d°. printed for Nath. Butter; *no date*, but probably printed in — — — 1611

The Crowne of all Homer's Works, Batrachomymachia, &c. *[By Geo. Chapman, with his portrait in the title-page.] thin folio; printed by John Bill. *No date.*[5]

The ſtrange wonderfull and bloudy Battel between Frogs and Miſe; paraphraſtically done into Engliſh Heroycall Verſe, by W. F. (i. e. William Fowldes,) 4to. — — 1603

HESIOD.

The Georgicks of Heſiod, by George Chapman; Tranſlated elaborately out of the Greek: Containing Doctrine of Huſbandrie, Moralitie, and Pietie; with a perpetual Calendar of Good and Bad Daies; Not ſuperſtitious, but neceſſarie (as farre as naturall Cauſes compell) for all men to obſerve, and difference in following their affaires. *Nec caret umbra Deo.* London, Printed by H. L. for Miles Partrich, and are to be ſolde at his Shop neare Saint Dunſtans Church in Fleetſtreet. — 1618

[This title-page is given at full length, becauſe the exiſtence of the book it belongs to (which

[5] In the firſt volume of the Entries of the Stationers' Company is the following:

"T. Purfoote.] The Battel of the Frogges and Myce, and certain orations of Iſocrates." Jan. 4, 1579.

is in Mr. Steevens's poſſeſſion) has been queſtioned by the late Mr. Warton, *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 446.]

MUSÆUS.

Marlowe's Hero and Leander, with the firſt Book of Lucan, 4to. — — 1600

There muſt have been a former Edition,[6] *as a ſecond Part was publiſhed by Henry Petowe,* 1598

Muſæus's Poem of Hero and Leander, imitated by Chriſtopher Marlow, and finiſhed by Geo. Chapman, 4to. Lond. — 1606

EURIPIDES.

Jocaſta, a tragedy, from the Phœniſſa of Euripides, by Geo. Gaſcoigne, and Mr. Francis Kinwelmerſhe, 4to. Lond. — — 1556

[6] This tranſlation, or at leaſt Marlowe's part in it, muſt have been publiſhed before 1599, being twice mentioned in Naſh's *Lenten Stuff*, &c. which bears that date. "*Leander* and *Hero*, of whom the *Muſæus* ſung, and a diviner muſe than him, *Kit Marlow*." Again, "She ſprung after him, and ſo reſigned up her prieſthood, and left worke for *Muſæus* and *Kit Marlow*."

Among the entries at Stationers' Hall I find the following made by John Wolfe in 1593, Sept. 8th. "A booke entitled Hero and Leander, being an amorous poem deviſed by Chriſtopher Marlow." At the ſame time, "Lucan's firſt book of the famous Cyvill warr betwixt Pompey and Cæſar. Engliſhed by Chriſtopher Marlow."

Again, in 1597, "A booke in Engliſh called Hero and Leander."

Again, April 1598, "The ſeconde Parte of Hero and Leander by Henry Petowe." Andrew Harris enter'd it.

Again, in 1600, "Hero and Leander by Marlowe."

In 1614 an entire tranſlation of Lucan was publiſhed by Sir Arthur Gorges, and enter'd as ſuch on the ſame books."

PLATO.

Axlochus, a Dialogue, attributed to Plato, by Edm. Spenſer, 4to.[7] — — 1592

DEMOSTHENES.

The three Orations of Demoſthenes, chiefe Orator among the Grecians, in favour of the Olynthians, with thoſe his fower againſt Philip of Macedon, &c. by Tho. Wylſon, Doctor of the Civill Lawes, 4to. — — 1570

ISOCRATES.

Iſocrates's ſage admonition to Demonicus, by R. Nutthall, 8vo. Lond. 1557, 12mo. and 1585

Iſocrates's Doctrinal of Princes, by Syr Tho. Elliot, Lond. 8vo. — — 1534

Iſocrates's Orat. intitled Evagoras, by Jer. Wolfe, 8vo. — — — 1581

Three Orations of moral Inſtructions, one to Demonicus, and two to Nicocles, King of Salamis, tranſlated from Iſocrates, by Tho. Forreſt, 4to. — — — 1580

LUCIAN.

Necromantia, a Dialog of the Poete Lucyen between Menippus and Philonides, for his Fanteſye faynd for a mery Paſtyme, in Engliſh Verſe and Latin Proſe.

Toxaris, or the Friendſhip of Lucian, by A. O. Lond. 8vo. — — 1565

[7] This book was entered in May 1592, at Stationers' Hall.

HERODOTUS.

The famous Hyſtory of Herodotus,[8] in nine Bookes, &c. by B. R. Lond. — 1584

N. B. *This Piece contains only the two firſt Books, viz. the Clio and Euterpe. The Tranſlator ſays in his Preface, "As theſe ſpeede, ſo the reſt will follow."* 4to.

THUCYDIDES.

The Hiſtory writtone by Thucydides, &c. tranſlated out of the Frenche of Claude de Seyſſel, Biſhop of Marſeilles, into the Engliſhe language, by Tho. Nicolls, Citizeine and Goldſmyth of London, fol. — 1550[9]

POLYBIUS.

Hyſtories of the moſt famous and worthy Cronographer, Polybius, by Chriſtopher Watſon, 8vo. — — — 1568

This Work conſiſts of extracts only.

DIODORUS SICULUS.[a]

The Hiſtory of the Succeſſors of Alexander, &c.

[8] Among the entries in the books at Stationers' Hall this appears to be one.

"John Denham.] The famous Hiſtorye of Herodotus in Englyſhe, June 13, 1581."

[9] On the Stationers' books in 1607 either this or ſome other tranſlation is entered, called "The Hiſtory of Thucidides the Athenian tranſlated into Engliſh."

[a] Caxton tells us, that "Skelton had tranſlated *Diodorus Siculus, the Epiſtles of Tulle*, and diverſe other Workes:" but I know not that they were ever printed.

out of Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch, by Tho. Stocker. Lond. 4to. — 1569

APPIAN.

An aunciente Hyſtorie, &c. by Appian[3] of Alexandria, tranſlated out of diverſe Languages, &c. by W. B. 4to. Lond. — 1578

JOSEPHUS.

Joſephus's Hiſtory, &c. tranſlated into Engliſh, by Tho. Lodge, fol. Lond. 1602—1609, &c.

ÆLIAN.

Ælian's Regiſtre of Hyſtories, by Abraham Fleming, 4to. — — — 1576

HERODIAN.

The Hiſtorie of Herodian, &c. tranſl. oute of Greeke into Latin, by Angelus Politianus, and out of Latin into Englyſhe, by Nich. Smyth. Imprinted at London, by William Copland, 4to.[4]

PLUTARCH.

Plutarch's Lives,[5] by Sir Tho. North, from the Fr. of Amyot, Biſhop of Auxerre, fol. 1579, 1602, 1603

[3] In the firſt volume of the entries in the books of the Stationers' Company, Feb. 5, 1577, is the following:
"Henry Binneman.] Appianus Alexandrinus of the Romaine Civill Warres."

[4] Oct. 1591, *Herodian in Engliſh* was entered at Stationers'-Hall by —— Adams.

[5] Thus entered in the books of the Stationers' Company.
"April 1579—Vautrouller—Wright, a booke in Engliſhe calle Plutarch's Lyves."

Plutarch's Morals, by Dr. Philemon Holland, 1603[6]
Plutarch of the Education of Children, by Sir Tho. Elyott, 4to.
The Preceptes of that excellent Clerke and grave Philoſopher, Plutarche, for the Preſervation of Healthe, 8vo. — — 1543

ARISTOTLE.

The Ethiques of Ariſtotle, &c. by John Wylkinſon. Printed by Grafton, Printer to K. Edw. VI. 8vo. B. L. — — 1547[7]
The Secrete of Secretes of Ariſtotle, &c. tranſlated out of the Frenche, &c. Lond. 8vo. 1528
Ariſtotle's Politiques, &c.[8] from the Fr. by J. D. fol. Lond. — — — 1598

XENOPHON.

The eight Bookes of Xenophon, containing the Inſtitution, Schole, and Education of Cyrus, the noble King of Perſye, &c. tranſl. out of Gr. into Engl. by Mr. William Bercher. Lond. 12mo. — 1567 and 1569
D°. by Dr. Philemon Holland.

[6] On the Stationers' books in the year 1600 is the following entry:
"A booke to be tranſlated out of Frenche into Engliſhe, and ſo printed, called the Morall Woorkes of Plutarque." Again in 1602. Again, in the ſame year, "The moral worke of Plutarque, being tranſlated out of French into Engliſh."

[7] Of the *Ethicks of Ariſtotle* ſome more early tranſlation muſt have appeared; as Sir Tho. Elyot in his *Boke named the Governour*, 1537, ſays, "they are to be learned in Greke; for *the tranſlations that we have*, be but a rude and groſſe ſhadowe of the eloquence and wyſdome of Ariſtotle."

[8] This tranſlation is entered in the books at Stationers'-Hall. "Adam Iſlip] Ariſtotle's Politiques with expoſitions; to be tranſlated into Engliſhe by the French copie, 1598."

Xenophon's Treatiſe of Houſe-hold right, connyngly tranſl. out of the Greke tongue, &c. by Gentian Hervet, &c. 8vo. Lond.
1532. 8vo. 1534
1544. 8vo. 1573

The Arte of Riding from Xenophon, &c. Lond. 4to. — — — 1584

EPICTETUS.[9]

The Manuell of Epictetus, tranſl. out of Greeke into French, and now into Engliſh, &c. Alſo the Apothegmes, &c. by James Sandford, Lond. 12mo. — — 1567

CEBES.

The Table of Cebes, the Philoſopher. How one may take profite of his ennemies. Tranſlated out of Plutarche.

A Treatiſe perſwadyng a man paciently to ſuffer the Death of a Freend. Imprynted at London, in Fleteſtreete by Thomas Berthelet.

EUNAPIUS SARDIANUS.[a]

The Lyves of Philoſophers and Orators, from the Greek of Eunapius, 4to. — 1579

ACHILLES TATIUS.

The moſt delectable and pleaſant Hiſt. of Clitophon

[9] In the books of the Stationers' Company, Feb. 12, 1581, Tho. Eaſte entered Enchiridon in Engliſh.

[a] Thus entered in the books of the Stationers' Company. "Richard Jones.] The Lives of divers excellent Orators and Philoſophers written in Greeke by Enapius of the city of Sardis in Lydia, and tranſlated into Engliſhe by ———."

and Leucippe, from the Greek of Achilles Statius, &c. by W. B. 4to. — 1597[3]

M. ANTONINUS.[4]

The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius, Emperour and eloquent Orator, 12mo. Lond. 1553
Tranſlated out of Fr. into Eng. by Sir John Bourchier, Kt. &c. &c.
Other editions of this are in 1534, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1559, 1586, 1588.

DIONYSIUS.

Dionyſius's Deſcription of the Worlde. Englyſhed by Tho. Twyne, 8vo. Lond. — 1572

EUCLID.

Euclid's Elements of Geometry, tranſl. into Engl. by Rich. Candiſh, who flouriſhed, A. D. 1556
Euclid's Elements, Pref. by John Dee, Lond. 1570

HIPPOCRATES.

The Aphoriſmes of Hippocrates, redacted into a certaine Order, and tranſlated by Humfrie Llhyd, 8vo. — — 1585

[3] This booke was entered in the ſame year by Thomas Creede, on the books of the Stationers' Company.

[4] This book is only introduced, that an opportunity may be obtained of excluding it from any future catalogue of tranſlated claſſicks. It was a fraud of Guevara's, but not undetected; for Chapman, in his *Gentleman Uſher*, 1602, ſpeaks of the book as *Guevara's* own. "If there be not more choice words in that letter, than in any three of *Guevara's Golden Epiſtles*, I am a very aſs." See his article in Bayle. Our countryman Elyott did ſomewhat of the ſame kind. He pretended to tranſlate the Actes and Sentences notable, of the Emperor *Alexander Severus* (from the Greek of Encolpius). See *Fabricius'* and *Tanner's Bibliothec.* &c.

GALEN.

Galen's Two Books of Elements, tranſlated into Engl. by J. Jones, 4to. Lond. — 1574
Certayne Workes of Galen, englyſhed by Tho. Gale, 4to. — — — 1586

HELIODORUS.

The Beginning of Æthiopical Hiſtory in Engl. Hexameters, by Abrah. Fraunce, 8vo. Lond. 1591[5]
Heliodorus's Æthiopic Hiſt. tranſl. by Tho. Underdown, B. L. 4to. Lond. 1577 and 1587

ÆSOP.

Eſop's Fables in true Orthography, with Grammar notes, tranſlated out of the Latin by William Bullaker, B. L. 8vo. — 1585

VIRGIL.

The Boke of Eneydos, &c. by Caxton, fol. Lond. *proſe* — — — 1490
The thirteen Bukes of Eneados in Scottiſh Metir, by Gawain Douglas, 4to. Lond. — 1553
Certaine Bookes of Virgiles Æneis[6] turned into Engliſh Metir, by the right honourable Lorde, Henry Earle of Surrey, 4to. Lond. 1557
The firſt ſeven Bookes of the Eneidos, by Phaer. Lond. 4to. B. L.. — — 1558
This Tranſlation is in rhyme of fourteen ſyllables.

[5] A tranſlation of the ſame book is likewiſe entered at Stationers' Hall, 1602, and again twice in 1604, for different printers.

[6] This is a tranſlation of the ſecond and fourth books into blank verſe, and is perhaps the oldeſt ſpecimen of that metre in the Engliſh language.

he nine firſt Bookes, &c. by Phaer,' 4to. Lond. 1562

' The following "Epytaphe of Maiſter Thomas Phayre," is and in a very ſcarce book entitled "Eglogs, Epytaphes, and nettes. Newly written by *Barnabe Googe*, 1563, 15 Marche. aprynted at London by Thomas Colwell, for Raffe Newbery, relyng in Fleteſtrete a little aboue the Conduit in the late ſhop Thomas Bartelet."

"The hawtye verſe y^t *Maro* wrote
"made Rome to wonder muche,
"And meruayle none, for why the ſtyle
"and weightynes was ſuche,
"That all men iudged *Parnaſſus* mownt
"had clefte her ſelfe in twayne,
"And brought forth one that ſeemd to drop
"from out *Mineruaies* brayne.
"But wonder more maye Bryttayne great
"wher *Phayre* dyd floryſh late,
"And bārreyne tong with ſwete accord
"reduced to ſuche eſtate:
"That *Virgils* verſe hath greater grace
"in forrayne foote obtaynde,
"Than in his own, who whilſt he lyued
"eche other poets ſtaynde.
"The noble H. *Hawarde* once,
"that raught eternall fame,
"With mighty ſtyle did bryng a pece
"of *Virgils* work in frame,
"And *Grimaold* gaue the lyke attempt,
"And *Douglas* wan the ball,
"Whoſe famouſe wyt in Scottyſh ryme
"had made an ende of all.
"But all theſe fame dyd *Phayre* excell
"I dare preſume to wryte,
"As muche as doth *Appolloes* beames
"the dymmeſt ſtarre in lyght.
"The enuyous fates (O pytie great)
"had great diſdayne to ſe
"That us amongſt there ſhuld remayn
"ſo fyne a wyt as he:
"And in the mydſt of all his toyle
"dyd force hym hence to wende,
"And leaue a worke unperfyt ſo
"that neuer man ſhall ende."

The thirteene Bookes of Eneidos, by Phaer and Twine. 4to. Lond. 1584, 1596, 1607, &c.[8]

The firſt four Bookes of Virgil's Æneis, tranſlated into Engl. heroic Verſe, by Richard Stanyhurſt,[9] &c. 12mo. Lond. — 1583

The Bucolickes of Publius Virgilius Maro, &c. by Abraham Fleming, drawn into plaine and familiar Englyſhe, Verſe for Verſe, 4to. B. L. 1575

The two firſt Eclogues of Virgil. By W. Webbe; inſerted in his Diſcourſe of Englyſh Poetrie. 1586.

Virgil's Eclogues and Georgicks,, tranſlated into blank Verſe by the ſame Author, Lond. 1589

The Lamentation of Corydon for the love of Alexis, Verſe for Verſe, out of Latine.

This is tranſlated into Engliſh Hexameters, and printed at the end of the Counteſſe of Pembroke's Ivychurch, 1591. By Abraham Fraunce, 4to. bl. l.

Virgil's Culex paraphraſed, by Spenſer. See his works.

HORACE.

The fyrſt twoo Satars or poyſes of Orace, Engliſhed, by Lewes Euans, ſchole-maſter. 1564

Two Bookes of Horace his Satyres Englyſhed, accordyng to the Preſcription of Saint Hierome, 4to. B. L. Lond. — — 1566

[8] Among the entries in the books of the Stationers' Company, is the following. "Tho. Creede.] Virgil's Æneidos in Engliſhe verſe, 1595." Again, in 1600. Again his Bucolics and Georgics in the ſame year.

[9] The copy which I have ſeen, was in 4to. printed at Leiden, and was entered as ſuch on the books of the Stationers' on the 24th of January, 1582.

Horace his Arte of Poetrie, Piſtles[2] and Satyrs Engliſhed, by Tho. Drant, 4to. Lond. 1567

Horace's Art of Poetry was alſo tranſlated looſely into proſe by W. Webbe, together with Epiſtles *ad Mecænatem* &c. in his Diſcourſe of Engliſh Poetrie. — — 1586

OVID.

The fifteene Bookes of Metamorphoſeos. In which ben contaynid the Fables of Ovid, by William Caxton, Weſtm. fol. — — 1480

The four firſt Books of Ovid, tranſl. from the Latin into Engliſh Meetre, by Arthur Golding, Gent. 4to. B. L. Lond. — — 1565

‡The fifteen Bookes of P. Ovidius Naſo, &c. by Arthur Golding, 4to. Bl. L. Lond. 1567

D°. — — — — 1576

[*Another in* 1575 *according to Ames. A former Edition was in* 1572, *in Rawlinſon's catal.*

D°. — — 1587. D°. 1612

The pleaſant Fable of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis, 8vo. Lond. — — 1565

The Fable of Ovid treating of Narciſſus, tranſl. out of Latin into Engl. Mytre, with a Moral ther unto very pleſant to rede, 4to. Lond. 1590

The Heroycall Epiſtles, &c. ſet out and tranſlated by Geo. Turbervile, Gent. &c. B. L. 4to. Lond.[3] — 1567, 1569, and 1600

The three firſt Bookes of Ovid de Triſtibus, tranſl.

[2] There is an entry at Stationers' hall of the Epiſtles of Horace in 1591.

[3] Among the Stationers' entries I find in 1594, "A booke entitled *Oenone and Paris*, wherein is deſcribed the extremity of love," &c. This may be a tranſlation from Ovid.

into Engliſh, by Tho. Churchyard, 4to. Lond. 1580[4]

Ovid his Invective againſt Ibis, tranſlated into Eng. Meeter, &c. 12mo. Lond. 1569[5]

And, by Tho. Underwood. — 1577

Certaine of Ovid's Elegies by C. Marlow,[6] 12mo. At Middleburgh. — — *no date.*

All Ovid's Elegies, three Bookes. By C. M. At Middleburgh. 12mo. Somewhat larger than the preceding edition.

‡ Ovidius Naſo, his Remedy of love, tranſlated and entituled to the youth of England, 4to. 1600

Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, by Fra. Beaumont, 4to. — — — 1602

He likewiſe tranſlated a Part of the Remedy of Love. *There was another Tranſlation of the whole, by Sir Tho. Overbury, 8vo. without date.*[7]

PLAUTUS.

Menæchmi, by W. W. Lond.[8] — 1595

[4] This book was entered at Stationers' hall by Tho. Eaſte, July 1, 1577, and by Thomas Orwin in 1591.

[5] Among the entries in the books of the Stationers' company is the following. "Henry Bynneman] July 1, 1577, *Ovid's Invective againſt Ibis.* Bought of Thomas Eaſte."

[6] In the forty-firſt of Q. Eliz. theſe tranſlations from Ovid were commanded by the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the biſhop of London, to be burnt at Stationers' hall.

[7] On the books of the Stationers' company, Dec. 23, 1599, is entered, *Ovidius Naſo his Remedy of Love.* Again, in the ſame year, *Ovydes Epiſtles in Engliſhe*, and *Ovydes Metamorphoſis in Englyſhe.*

[8] This piece was entered at Stationers' hall June 10th, 1594. In 1520, viz. the 11th year of Hen. VIII. it appears from Holinſhed that a comedy of Plautus was played before the king.

MARTIAL.

lowers of Epigrams (from Martial particularly) by Tim. Kendall, 8vo.[9] — 1577

TERENCE.

'erens in Englyſh, or the tranſlacyon out of Latin into Engliſh of the firſt comedy of Tyrens callyd Andria. *Suppoſed to be printed by J. Raſtell.*[2]

[9] Entered at Stationers' hall Feb. 1576.

[2] As the following metrical introduction to this play, relates nefly to the improvements at that time ſuppoſed to have been ade in the Engliſh language, I could not prevail on myſelf to ppreſs it.

THE POET.

" The famous renown through the worlde is ſprong
" Of poetys ornate that usyd to indyte
" Of dyvers matters in theyr moder tong
" Some toke upon them tranſlacions to wryte
" Some to compile bokys for theyr delyte
" But in our Engliſh tong for to ſpeke playn
" I rede but of few have take any gret payn.

" Except maſter Gowre which furſt began
" And of moralite wrote ryght craftely
" Than maſter Chaucer that excellent man
" Which wrote as compendious as elygantly
" As in any other tong ever dyd any
" Ludgate alſo which adournyd our tong
" Whoſe noble famys through the world be ſprong.

" By theſe men our tong is amplyfyed ſo,
" That we therin now tranſlate as well as may
" As in eny other tongis other can do.
" Yet the Greke tong and Laten dyvers men ſay
" Have many wordys can not be Englyſhid this day
" So lyke wyſe in Englyſh many wordys do habound
" That no Greke nor Laten for them can be found.

Andria, the firſt Comedy of Terence, by Maurice Kyffin, 4to. — — — 1588
Terence in Engliſh, by Richard Bernard, 4to, Cambridge.[3] — — 1598
Flowers of Terence, — — 1591

SENECA.

Seneca his Tenne Tragedies,[4] tranſlated into Englyſh by different Tranſlators, 4to. Lond. 1581

" And the cauſe that our tong is ſo plenteouſe now
" For we kepe our Englyſh contynually
" And of other tongis many wordis we borow
" Which now for Englyſh we uſe and occupy
" Theſe thingis have given corage gretly
" To dyvers and ſpecyally now of late
" To them that this comedy have tranſlate.

" Which all diſcrete men now do beſech
" And ſpecyally lernyd men to take no dyſdayn
" Though this be compylyd in our vulgare ſpech
" Yet lernyng thereby ſome men may attayn
" For they that in this comedy have take payn
" Pray you to correct where faut ſhall be found
" And of our matter ſo here is the ground."

In the metrical peroration to this piece, is the following ſtanza:

" Wherfore the tranſlatours now require you this
" Yf ought be amys ye wold conſyder
" The Englyſh almoſt as ſhort as the Latten is
" And ſtill to kepe ryme a dyffycult matter
" To make the ſentence opynly to appere
" Which if it had a long expocyſion
" Then were it a comment and no tranſlacyon."

[3] At Stationers' hall in 1597, " the ſecond comedy of Terence, called *Eunuchus*," was entered by W. Leake; and the firſt and ſecond comedie in 1600.

[4] In the firſt volume of the entries of the Stationers' company, Aug. 1579, Rich. Jones and John Charlewood entered the 4th tragedie of Seneca. And again all the ten in 1581.

" It is remarkable" ſays Mr. Warton, (*Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 393,) " that Shakſpeare has borrowed nothing from the

A frutefull worke of Lucius Anneus Seneca, named the Forme and Rule of Honeſt Lyvynge, both in the Latin tongue and the Englyſhe, lately tranſlated by Robert Whyttynton, Poet Laureate: and now newlye imprynted, 12mo. Wm. Myddleton. — 1546

A frutefull Worke of Lucius Anneus Seneca, called the Myrrour or Glaſſe of Maners and Wyſedome, both in Latin and in Englyſhe, lately Tranſlated by Robert Whyttynton, Poet Laureate: and nowe newely imprynted. 12mo. Wm. Middleton — — 1547

Lucii Annei Senecæ ad Gallionem de Remediis Fortuitorum. The remedyes againſt all caſuall chaunces. Dialogus inter Senſum et Rationem. A Dialogue betwene Senſualyte and Reaſon. Lately Tranſlated out of Latyne into Englyſhe, by Robert Whyttynton, Poet Laureate, and now newely imprynted, 12mo. Wm. Myddleton. — — 1547

Seven Bookes of Benefyting,[5] by Arthur Golding, 4to. — — — 1577

LUCAN.

Lucan's Firſt Booke, tranſlated line for line, by

Engliſh Seneca. Perhaps a copy might not fall in his way. Shakſpeare was only a reader by accident. Holinſhed and tranſlated Italian novels ſupplied moſt of his plots or ſtories. His ſtorehouſe of learned hiſtory was North's Plutarch. The only poetical fable of antiquity, which he has worked into a play, is *Troilus*. But this he borrowed from the romance of Troy. Modern fiction and Engliſh hiſtory were his principal reſources. Theſe perhaps were more ſuitable to his taſte: at leaſt he found that they produced the moſt popular ſubjects. Shakſpeare was above the bondage of the claſſicks."

[5] In the firſt volume of the entries in the books of the Stationers' company is the following: "March 26, 1579, *Seneca de Beneficiis* in Englyſhe."

D°. by G. W. with an Epitomie of the Lives, &c. of the Romaine Emperors, from Aurelius Victor, fol. — — 1606

Q. CURTIUS.

The Hiſtorie of Quintus Curtius, &c. tranſlated, &c. by John Brende, 4to. Lond. — 1553
Other Editions were in 1561, 1570, 1584, 1592[a]

EUTROPIUS.

Eutropius engliſhed, by Nic. Haward, 8vo. 1564

A. MARCELLINUS.

Ammianus Marcellinus, tranſlated by Dr. P. Holland. Lond. fol. — — 1609

CICERO.

Cicero's Familiar Epiſtles by J. Webbe, ſm. 8vo. *no date.*
Certain ſelect Epiſtles into Engliſh, by Abra. Flemming, 4to. Lond. — 1576
Thoſe Fyve Queſtions which Marke Tullye Cicero diſputed in his Manor of Tuſculanum, &c. &c. Englyſhed by John Dolman, ſm. 8vo. Lond. 1561
The Booke of Freendſhip of Marcus Tullie Cicero. 12mo. Anno Domini — 1550
Imprinted at London in Fleteſtreete in the hous of Tho. Berthelette.
Dedicated to Katharine Ducheſſe of Suffolke, by John Harrynton.

[a] In the Stationers' books this or ſome other tranſlation of the ſame author was entered by Richard Tottell, Feb. 1582, and again by Tho. Creede, &c. 1599.

e Paradoxe of M. T. Cicero, &c. by Rob. Whyt-
tington, Poet Laureat. Printed in Southwarke,
12mo. — — — 1540
Webbe tranſlated all the ſixteen Books of Cicero's Epiſtles, but probably they were not printed together in Shakſpeare's Life-time. I ſuppoſe this, from a Paſſage in his Dedication.

BOETHIUS.

oethius, by Chaucer. Printed by Caxton, fol.
oethius in Engliſh Verſe, by Tho. Rychard. Imprinted in the exempt monaſtery of Taviſtock, 4to. — — — 1525
Eng. and Lat. by Geo. Colville, 4to. 1556[7]

APULEIUS.

puleius's Golden Aſſe, tranſlated into Eng. by Wm. Adlington, 4to. Lond. 1566 and 1571[8]

FRONTINUS.

tratagemes, Sleightes, and Policies of Warre, gathered by S. Julius Frontinus. Tranſlated by Richard Moriſine, 8vo. Printed by Tho. Berthelet. — — 1539

[7] In the Stationers' books, Jan. 13th, 1608, Matthew Lownes tered "*Anitius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius*, a Chriſtian nſul of Rome, newly tranſlated out of Latin, together with iginal Notes explaining the obſcureſt Places." Printed 8vo. 09.

[8] There is an entry of this tranſlation in the books at Stationers' ll in 1595. Valentine Simes is the name of the printer who ented it. It is again entered by Clement Knight in 1600.

PLINY JUNr.

Some ſelect Epiſtles of Pliny the Younger into Eng. by Abr. Flemming, 4to. Lond. 1576

POMPONIUS MELA.

Pomponius Mela, by A. Golding, 4to. 1590

PLINY.

Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. by Dr. Phil. Holland, fol.[9] 1601

SOLINUS.

Julius Solinus Polyhiſtor, by A. Golding, 4to. 1587

VEGETIUS.

The four Bookes of Flavius Vegetius, concerning martial Policye, by John Sadler, 4to. 1572

RUTILIUS RUFUS.

A View of Valiaunce, tranſlated from Rutilius Rufus, by Tho. Newton, 8vo. 1580

DARES Phryg. and DICTYS Cret.

Dares and Dictys's Trojan War, in Verſe. 1555

CATO, and P. SYRUS.

Caton,[a] tranſlated into Englyſhe by Mayſter Benet Burgh, &c. mentioned by Caxton.

[9] On the books of the Stationers' company is this entry: "Adam Iſlip, 1600.] The xxxvii bookes of C. Plinius Secundus his Hiſtorie of the Worlde. To be tranſlated out of Latin into Englyſhe and ſo printed."

[a] Probably this was never printed.

Cathon [Parvus and Magnus] tranſl. &c. by Caxton 1483[3]

Preceptes of Cato, with Annotations of Eraſmus, &c. 24mo. Lond. — 1560 and 1562

‡Catonis Diſticha, Latin and Engliſh, ſmall 8vo. Lond. — — — 1553

Ames mentions a Diſcourſe of Human Nature, tranſlated from Hippocrates, p. 428; an Extract from Pliny, tranſlated from the French, p. 312; Æſop,[4] &c. by Caxton and others; and there is no doubt, but many Tranſlations at preſent unknown, may be gradually recovered, either by induſtry or accident.

[3] There is an entry of *Caton* at Stationers' hall in 1591 by —— Adams, in Eng. and Lat. Again, in the year 1591 by Tho. Orwin. Again, in 1605, "Four Bookes of morall Sentences, entitled Cato, tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh by J. M. Maſter of Arts."

[4] "Æſop's Fables in Englyſhe" were entered May 7th, 1590, on the books of the Stationers' company. Again, Oct. 1591. Again, Eſop's Fables in Meter, Nov. 1598. Some few of them had been paraphraſed by Lydgate, and I believe are ſtill unpubliſhed. See the Brit. Muſ. MSS. Harl. 2251.

It is much to be lamented that *Andrew Maunſell*, a bookſeller in Lothbury, who publiſhed two parts of a catalogue of Engliſh printed books, fol. 1595, did not proceed to his third collection. This according to his own account of it, would have conſiſted of "Grammar, Logick, and Rhetoricke, Lawe, Hiſtorie, Poetrie, Policie," &c. which, as he tells us, "for the moſt part concerne matters of delight and pleaſure."

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

THE RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

ENGLISH STAGE,

AND OF

THE ECONOMY AND USAGES OF OUR ANCIENT THEATRES.

THE drama before the time of Shakſpeare was ſo little cultivated, or ſo ill underſtood, that to many it may appear unneceſſary to carry our theatrical reſearches higher than that period. Dryden has truly obſerved, that he "found not, but created firſt the ſtage;" of which no one can doubt, who conſiders, that of all the plays iſſued from the preſs antecedent to the year 1592, when there is reaſon to believe he commenced a dramatick writer, the titles are ſcarcely known, except to antiquaries; nor is there one of them that will bear a ſecond peruſal. Yet theſe, contemptible and few as they are, we may ſuppoſe to have been the moſt popular productions of the time, and the beſt that had been exhibited before the appearance of Shakſpeare.[5]

[5] There are but thirty-eight plays, (excluſive of myſteries, moralities, interludes, and tranſlated pieces,) now extant, written antecedent to, or in, the year 1592. Their titles are as follows:

Acolaſtus - - -	1540	*Tancred and Giſmund* -	1568
Ferrex and Porrex -	1561	*Cambyſes*, no date, but pro-	
Damon and Pythias -	1562	bably written before -	1570

A minute inveſtigation, therefore, of the origin and progreſs of the drama in England, will ſcarcely repay the labour of the inquiry. However, as the

Appius and Virginia	1575	*Soliman and Perſeda*	in or before 1592
Gammer Gurton's Needle		*Midas*	
Promos and Caſſandra -	1578	*Galathea*	
Arraignment of Paris	1584	*Arden of Feverſham*	
Sappho and Phao		*Orlando Furioſo*	before 1592
Alexander and Campaſpe		*Alphonſus King of Arragon*	
Miſfortunes of Arthur -	1587	*James IV. King of Scotland*	
Jeronimo	1588	*A Lookinglaſs for London and England*	
Spaniſh Tragedy, or *Hieronimo is mad again*		*Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*	
Tamburlaine		*Jew of Malta*	
Titus Andronicus - -	1589	*Dr. Fauſtus*	
King Henry V. in or before	1589	*Edward II.*	
Contention between the Houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter, in or before -	1590	*Luſt's Dominion*	
King John, in two parts,	1591	*Maſſacre of Paris*	
Endymion		*Dido*	

Between the years 1592 and 1600, the following plays were printed or exhibited; the greater part of which, probably, were written before our author commenced play-wright.

Cleopatra	1593	*Woman in the Moon* -	1597
Edward I.		*Mucedorus*	1598
Battle of Alcazar	1594	*The virtuous Octavia*	
Wounds of Civil War		*Blind Beggar of Alexandria*	
Selymus, Emperor of the Turks		*Every Man in his Humour*	
Cornelia		*Pinner of Wakefield*	1599
Muber Bombie		*Warning for fair Women*	
The Cobler's Prophecy		*David and Bethſabe*	
The Wars of Cyrus		*Two angry Women of Abingdon*	
King Leir		*The Caſe is altered*	
Taming of a Shrew		*Every Man out of his Humour*	
An old Wives Tale		*The Trial of Chevalry*	
Maid's Metamorphoſes		*Humourous Day's Mirth*	
Love's Metamorphoſes		*Summer's laſt Will and Teſtament*	
Pedler's Prophecy			
Antonius	1595		
Edward III.			
Wily Beguiled			

beſt introduction to an account of the internal economy and uſages of the Engliſh theatres in the time of Shakſpeare, (the principal object of this diſſertation,) I ſhall take a curſory view of our moſt ancient dramatick exhibitions, though I fear I can add but little to the reſearches which have already been made on that ſubject.

Mr. Warton in his elegant and ingenious *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry* has given ſo accurate an account of our earlieſt dramatick performances, that I ſhall make no apology for extracting from various parts of his valuable work, ſuch particulars as ſuit my preſent purpoſe.

The earlieſt dramatick entertainments exhibited in England, as well as every other part of Europe, were of a religious kind. So early as in the beginning of the twelfth century, it was cuſtomary in England on holy feſtivals to repreſent, in or near the churches, either the lives and miracles of ſaints, or the moſt important ſtories of Scripture. From the ſubject of theſe ſpectacles, which, as has been obſerved, were either the miracles of ſaints, or the more myſterious parts of holy writ, ſuch as the incarnation, paſſion, and reſurrection of Chriſt, theſe ſcriptural plays were denominated *Miracles*, or *Myſteries*. At what period of time they were firſt exhibited in this country, I am unable to aſcertain. Undoubtedly, however, they are of very great antiquity: and Riccoboni, who has contended that the Italian theatre is the moſt ancient in Europe, has claimed for his country an honour to which it is not entitled. The era of the earlieſt repreſentation in Italy,[6] founded on holy writ, he has placed in the year 1264, when the fraternity *del Gonfalone* wa

[6] The French theatre cannot be traced higher than the year 139 when the Myſtery of the Paſſion was repreſented at St. Maur.

eſtabliſhed; but we had ſimilar exhibitions in England above 150 years before that time. In the year 1110, as Dr. Percy and Mr. Warton have obſerved, the Miracle-play of *Saint Catharine*, written by Geoffrey, a learned Norman, (afterwards Abbot of St. Alban's,) was acted, probably by his ſcholars, in the abbey of Dunſtable; perhaps the firſt ſpectacle of this kind exhibited in England.[7] William Fitz-Stephen, a monk of Canterbury, who according to the beſt accounts compoſed his very curious work in 1174, about four years after the murder of his patron Archbiſhop Becket, and in the twenty-firſt year of the reign of King Henry the Second, mentions, that "London, for its theatrical exhibitions, has religious plays, either the repreſentations of miracles wrought by holy confeſſors, or the ſufferings of martyrs."[8]

[7] "Apud Duneſtapliam—quendam ludum de ſancta Katerina (quem MIRACULA vulgariter appellamus) fecit. Ad quæ decoranda, petiit a ſacriſta ſancti Albani, ut ſibi capæ chorales accommodarentur, et obtinuit." Vitæ Abbat. ad calc. Hiſt. Mat. Paris, folio, 1639, p. 56.

[8] "Lundonia pro ſpectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis ſcenicis, ludos habet ſanctiores, repræſentationes miraculorum quæ ſancti confeſſores operati ſunt, ſeu repreſentationes paſſionum, quibus claruit conſtantia martyrum." *Deſcriptio nobiliſſimæ civitatis Lundoniæ.* Fitz-Stephen's very curious deſcription of London is a portion of a larger work, entitled *Vita ſancti Thomæ, Archiepiſcopi et Martyris*, i. e. Thomas a Becket. It is aſcertained to have been written after the murder of Becket in the year 1170, of which Fitz-Stephen was an ocular witneſs, and while King Henry II. was yet living. A modern writer with great probability ſuppoſes it to have been compoſed in 1174, the author in one paſſage mentioning that the church of St. Paul's was formerly metropolitical, and that it was thought it would become ſo again, "ſhould the citizens return into the iſland." In 1174 King Henry II. and his ſons had carried over with them a conſiderable number of citizens to France, and many Engliſh had in that year alſo gone to Ireland. See Diſſertation prefixed to Fitz-Stephen's *Deſcription of London, newly tranſlated*, &c. 4to. 1772, p. 16.—Near the end of his Deſcription is a paſſage

Mr. Warton has remarked, that " in the time of Chaucer, Plays of Miracles appear to have been the common reſort of idle goſſips in Lent:

' Therefore made I my viſitations
' To vigilies and to proceſſions;
' To prechings eke, and to thiſe pilgrimages,
' To *playes of miracles*, and mariages,'[9] &c.

" And in Pierce Plowman's Creed, a piece perhaps prior to Chaucer, a friar Minorite mentions theſe Miracles as not leſs frequented than market-towns and fairs:

' We haunten no taverns, ne hobelen about,
' At markets and Miracles we meddle us never."

The elegant writer, whoſe words I have juſt quoted, has given the following ingenious account of the origin of this rude ſpecies of dramatick entertainment:

" About the eighth century trade was principally carried on by means of fairs, which laſted ſeveral days. Charlemagne eſtabliſhed many great marts of this ſort in France, as did William the Conqueror, and his Norman ſucceſſors in England.

which aſcertains it to have been written before the year 1182: " Lundonia et modernis temporibus reges illuſtres magnificoſque *peperit*; imperatricem Matildam, Henricum regem *tertium*, et beatum Thomam" [Thomas Becket]. Some have ſuppoſed that inſtead of *tertium* we ought to read *ſecundum*, but the text is undoubtedly right; and by *tertium*, Fitz-Stephen muſt have meant Henry, the ſecond ſon of Henry the Second, who was born in London in 1156-7, and being heir-apparent, after the death of his elder brother William, was crowned king of England in his father's life-time, on the 15th of July, 1170. He was frequently ſtyled *rex filius*, *rex juvenis*, and ſometimes he and his father were denominated *Reges Angliæ*. The young king, who occaſionally exerciſed all the rights and prerogatives of royalty, died in 1182. Had he not been living when Fitz-Stephen wrote, he would probably have added *nuper defunctum*. Neither Henry II. nor Henry III. were born in London. See the *Diſſertation* above-cited, p. 12.

[9] The Wif of Bathes Prologue, v. 6137. Tyrwhitt's edit.

The merchants who frequented theſe fairs in numerous caravans or companies, employed every art to draw the people together. They were therefore accompanied by jugglers, minſtrels, and buffoons; who were no leſs intereſted in giving their attendance, and exerting all their ſkill on theſe occaſions. As now but few large towns exiſted, no publick ſpectacles or popular amuſements were eſtabliſhed; and as the ſedentary pleaſures of domeſtick life and private ſociety were yet unknown, the fair-time was the ſeaſon for diverſion. In proportion as theſe ſhews were attended and encouraged, they began to be ſet off with new decorations and improvements: and the arts of buffoonery being rendered ſtill more attractive, by extending their circle of exhibition, acquired an importance in the eyes of the people. By degrees the clergy obſerving that the entertainments of dancing, muſick, and mimickry, exhibited at theſe protracted annual celebrities, made the people leſs religious, by promoting idleneſs and a love of feſtivity, proſcribed theſe ſports, and excommunicated the performers. But finding that no regard was paid to their cenſures, they changed their plan, and determined to take theſe recreations into their own hands. They turned actors; and inſtead of profane mummeries, preſented ſtories taken from legends or the Bible. This was the origin of ſacred comedy. The death of Saint Catharine, acted by the monks of ſaint Dennis, rivalled the popularity of the profeſſed players. Muſick was admitted into the churches, which ſerved as theatres for the repreſentation of holy farces. The feſtivals among the French, called *La fete de Foux, de l'Ane*, and *des Innocens*, at length became greater favourites, as they certainly were more capricious and abſurd, than the interludes of

the buffoons at the fairs. Theſe are the ideas of a judicious French writer now living, who has inveſtigated the hiſtory of human manners with great comprehenſion and ſagacity."

"Voltaire's theory on this ſubject is alſo very ingenious, and quite new. Religious plays, he ſuppoſes, came originally from Conſtantinople;[2] where the old Grecian ſtage continued to flouriſh in ſome degree, and the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides were repreſented, till the fourth century. About that period, Gregory Nazianzen, an archbiſhop, a poet, and one of the fathers of the church, baniſhed pagan plays from the ſtage at Conſtantinople, and introduced ſtories from the Old and New Teſtament. As the ancient Greek tragedy was a religious ſpectacle, a tranſition was made on the ſame plan; and the choruſſes were turned into Chriſtian hymns. Gregory wrote many ſacred dramas for this purpoſe, which have not ſurvived thoſe inimitable compoſitions over which they triumphed for a time: one, however, his tragedy called Χριστὸς πασχων, or *Chriſt's Paſſion*, is ſtill extant. In the prologue it is ſaid to be an imitation of Euripides, and that this is the firſt time the Virgin Mary had been introduced on the ſtage. The faſhion of acting ſpiritual dramas, in which at firſt a due degree of method and decorum was preſerved, was at length adopted from Conſtanti-

[2] "At Conſtantinople" as Mr. Warton has elſewhere obſerved, "it ſeems that the ſtage flouriſhed much, under Juſtinian and Theodora, about the year 540: for in the Baſilical codes we have the oath of an actreſs, μη αναχωρειν της πορνειας. Tom. VII. p. 682, edit. Fabrot, Græco-Lat. The ancient Greek fathers, particularly ſaint Chryſoſtom, are full of declamation againſt the drama; and complain, that the people heard a comedian with much more pleaſure than a preacher of the goſpel." Warton's *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. I. p. 244, n.

nople by the Italians; who framed, in the depth of the dark ages, on this foundation, that barbarous ſpecies of theatrical repreſentation called MYSTERIES, or ſacred comedies, and which were ſoon after received in France. This opinion will acquire probability, if we conſider the early commercial intercourſe between Italy and Conſtantinople: and although the Italians, at the time when they may be ſuppoſed to have imported plays of this nature, did not underſtand the Greek language, yet they could underſtand, and conſequently could imitate, what they ſaw."

In defence of Voltaire's hypotheſis, it may be further obſerved, that *The feaſt of Fools*, and of *the Aſs*, with other religious farces of that ſort, ſo common in Europe, originated at Conſtantinople. They were inſtituted, although perhaps under other names, in the Greek Church, about the year 990, by Theophylact, patriarch of Conſtantinople, probably with a better deſign than is imagined by the eccleſiaſtical annaliſts; that of weaning the minds of the people from the pagan ceremonies, by the ſubſtitution of chriſtian ſpectacles partaking of the ſame ſpirit of licentiouſneſs.—To thoſe who are accuſtomed to contemplate the great picture of human follies, which the unpoliſhed ages of Europe hold up to our view, it will not appear ſurpriſing, that the people who were forbidden to read the events of the ſacred hiſtory in the Bible, in which they were faithfully and beautifully related, ſhould at the ſame time be permitted to ſee them repreſented on the ſtage, diſgraced with the groſſeſt improprieties, corrupted with inventions and additions of the moſt ridiculous kind, ſullied with impurities, and expreſſed in the language of the loweſt farce."

" On the whole, the *Myſteries* appear to have originated among the eccleſiaſticks; and were moſt probably firſt acted with any degree of form by the monks. This was certainly the caſe in the Engliſh monaſteries.[3] I have already mentioned the play of Saint Catharine, performed at Dunſtable Abbey, by the novices in the eleventh century, under the ſuperintendance of Geoffrey a Pariſian eccleſiaſtick: and the exhibition of the *Paſſion* by the mendicant friers of Coventry and other places. Inſtances have been given of the like practice among the French. The only perſons who could now read were in the religious ſocieties; and various circumſtances, peculiarly ariſing from their ſituation, profeſſion, and inſtitution, enabled the monks to be the ſole performers of theſe repreſentations."

" As learning encreaſed, and was more widely diſſeminated, from the monaſteries, by a natural and eaſy tranſition, the practice migrated to ſchools and univerſities, which were formed on the monaſtick plan, and in many reſpects reſembled the eccleſiaſtical bodies."[4]

Candlemas-Day, or *The Slaughter of the Innocents*, written by Ihan Parfre, in 1512, *Mary Magdalene*, produced in the ſame year,[5] and *The Promiſes of*

[3] " In ſome regulations given by Cardinal Wolſey to the monaſteries of the Canons regular of St. Auſtin, in the year 1519, the brothers are forbidden to be *luſores* aut *mimici*, players or mimicks. But the prohibition means that the monks ſhould not go abroad to exerciſe theſe arts in a ſecular and mercenary capacity. See Annal. Burtonenſes, p. 437."

In 1589, however, an injunction made in the MEXICAN COUNCIL was ratified at Rome, to prohibit all clerks from playing in the Myſteries, even on Corpus Chriſti day. See *Hiſtory of Eng. Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 201.

[4] Warton's *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. II. pp. 366, *et ſeq.*

[5] MSS. Digby, 133, Bibl. Bodl.

God, written by John Bale, and printed in 1538, are curious ſpecimens of this early ſpecies of drama. But the moſt ancient as well as moſt complete collection of this kind is, *The Cheſter Myſteries*, which were written by Ralph Higden, a monk of the Abbey of Cheſter, about the year 1328,[6]

[6] MSS. Harl. 2013, &c. "Exhibited at Cheſter in the year 1327, at the expence of the different trading companies of that city. *The Fall of Lucifer*, by the Tanners. *The Creation*, by the Drapers. *The Deluge*, by the Dyers. *Abraham*, *Melchiſedech*, and *Lot*, by the Barbers. *Moſes*, *Balak*, and *Balaam*, by the Cappers. *The Salutation* and *Nativity*, by the Wrightes. *The Shepherds feeding their Flocks by Night*, by the Painters and Glaziers. *The three Kings*, by the Vintners. *The Oblation of the three Kings*, by the Mercers. *The killing of the Innocents*, by the Goldſmiths. *The Purification*, by the Blackſmiths. *The Temptation*, by the Butchers. *The laſt Supper*, by the Bakers. *The blind Men and Lazarus*, by the Glovers. *Jeſus and the Lepers*, by the Corveſarys. *Chriſt's Paſſion*, by the Bowyers, Fletchers, and Ironmongers. *Deſcent into Hell*, by the Cooks and Innkeepers. *The Reſurrection*, by the Skinners. *The Aſcenſion*, by the Taylors. *The Election of S. Mathias*, *ſending of the Holy Ghoſt*, *&c.* by the Fiſhmongers. *Antichriſt*, by the Clothiers. *Day of Judgement*, by the Webſters. The reader will perhaps ſmile at ſome of theſe combinations. This is the ſubſtance and order of the former part of the play. God enters creating the world; he breathes life into Adam, leads him into Paradiſe, and opens his ſide while ſleeping. Adam and Eve appear naked, and *not aſhamed*, and the old ſerpent enters lamenting his fall. He converſes with Eve. She eats of the forbidden fruit, and gives part to Adam. They propoſe, according to the ſtage-direction, to make themſelves *ſubligacula a foliis quibus tegamus pudenda*. Cover their nakedneſs with leaves, and converſe with God. God's curſe. The ſerpent *exit* hiſſing. They are driven from Paradiſe by four angels and the cherubim with a flaming ſword. Adam appears digging the ground, and Eve ſpinning. Their children Cain and Abel enter: the former kills his brother. Adam's lamentation. Cain is baniſhed," &c. Warton's *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. I. p. 243.

Mr. Warton obſerves in a note in his ſecond volume, p. 180, that "if it be true that theſe *Myſteries* were compoſed in the year 1328, and there was ſo much difficulty in obtaining the Pope's permiſſion that they might be preſented in Engliſh, a preſumptive proof ariſes,

of which a particular account will be found below. I am tempted to tranſcribe a few lines from the third of theſe pageants, *The Deluge*, as a ſpecimen of the ancient Myſteries.

The firſt ſcenical direction is,—" *Et primo in aliquo ſupremo loco, ſive in nubibus, ſi fieri poterat, loquatur* DEUS *ad Noe, extra arcbam exiſtente cum tota familia ſua.*" Then the ALMIGHTY, after expatiating on the ſins of mankind, is made to ſay:

" Man that I made I will deſtroye,
" Beaſt, worme, and fowle to fley,
" For one earth the doe me nye,
" The folke that are herone.
" It harmes me ſore hartefully
" The malice that dŏth nowe multiplye,
" That ſore it greeves me inwardlie
" That ever I made man.
" Therefore, Noe, my ſervant free,
" That righteous man arte, as I ſee,
" A ſhipp ſoone thou ſhalt make thee
" Of trees drye and lighte.
" Litill chambers therein thou make,
" And byndinge pytche alſo thou take,
" Within and without ney thou ſlake,
" To anoynte yt through all thy mighte," &c.

After ſome dialogue between Noah, Sem, Ham, Japhet, and their wives, we find the following ſtage direction: " Then Noe with all his family ſhall make a ſigne as though the wrought uppon

that all our *Myſteries* before that period were in Latin. Theſe plays will therefore have the merit of being the firſt Engliſh interludes."

Polydore Virgil mentions in his book *de Rerum Inventoribus*, Lib. V. c. ii. that the Myſteries were in his time in Engliſh. " Solemus vel more priſcorum ſpectacula edere populo, ut ludos, venationes,—recitare comædias, item in templis vitas divorum ac martyria repræſentare, in quibus, ut cunctis par ſit voluptas, *quæ recitant, vernaculam linguam tantum uſurpant.*" The firſt three books of Polydore's work were publiſhed in 1499; in 1517, at which time he was in England, he added five more.

the ſhippe with divers inſtruments, and after that God ſhall ſpeake to Noe:

" Noe, take thou thy meanye,
" And in the ſhipp hie that ye be,
" For non ſo righteous man to me
" Is nowe on earth livinge.
" Of clean beaſtes with the thou take
" Seven and ſeven, or thou ſlake,
" He and ſhe, make to make,
" By live in that thou bring," &c.

" Then Noe ſhall go into the arke with all his familye, his wife excepte. The arke muſt be boarded round aboute, and uppon the bordes all the beaſtes and fowles hereafter rehearſed muſt be painted, that there wordes maye agree with the pictures."

" *Sem.* Sier, here are lions, libardes, in,
" Horſes, mares, oxen and ſwyne,
" Neates, calves, ſheepe and kyne,
" Here fitten thou maye ſee," &c.

After all the beaſts and fowls have been deſcribed, Noah thus addreſſes his wife:

" *Noe.* Wife, come in, why ſtandes thou there?
" Thou art ever froward, that dare I ſwere,
" Come in on Godes halfe; tyme it were,
" For fear leſt that wee drowne."
" *Wife.* Yea, ſir, ſet up your ſaile,
" And rowe forth with evil haile,
" For withouten anie faile
" I will not oute of this toune;
" But I have my goſſepes everich one,
" One foote further I will not gone:
" They ſhal not drown by St. John,
" And I may ſave ther life.
" They loved me full well by Chriſt:
" But thou will let them in thie chiſt,
" Ellis rowe forth, Noe, when thou liſt,
" And get thee a newe wife."

At length Sem and his brethren put her on board by force, and on Noah's welcoming her, "Welcome, wife, into this boate," ſhe gives him a box on the ear: adding, "Take thou that for thy note."[7]

Many licentious pleaſantries, as Mr. Warton has obſerved, were ſometimes introduced in theſe religious repreſentations. "This might imperceptibly lead the way to ſubjects entirely profane, and to comedy; and perhaps earlier than is imagined. In a Myſtery of *The Maſſacre of the Holy Innocents*,[8] part of the ſubject of a ſacred drama given by the Engliſh fathers at the famous Council of Conſtance, in the year 1417, a low buffoon of Herod's court is introduced, deſiring of his lord to be dubbed a knight, that he might be properly qualified to *go on the adventure* of killing the mothers of the children of Bethlehem. This tragical buſineſs is treated with the moſt ridiculous levity. The good women of Bethlehem attack our knight-errant with their ſpinning-wheels, break his head with their diſtaffs, abuſe him as a coward and a diſgrace to chivalry, and ſend him to Herod as a recreant champion with much ignominy.——It is certain that our anceſtors intended no ſort of impiety by theſe monſtrous and unnatural mixtures. Neither the writers nor the ſpectators ſaw the impropriety, nor paid a ſeparate attention to the comick and the ſerious part of theſe motley ſcenes; at leaſt they were perſuaded that the ſolemnity of the ſubject covered or excuſed all incongruities. They had no juſt idea of decorum, conſequently but little ſenſe of the ridiculous:

[7] It is obvious that the tranſcriber of theſe ancient Myſteries, which appear to have been written in 1328, repreſents them as they were exhibited at Cheſter in 1600, and that he has not adhered to the original orthography.

[8] MSS. Digby 134. Bibl. Bodl.

what appears to us to be the higheſt burleſque, on them would have made no ſort of impreſſion. We muſt not wonder at this, in an age when courage, devotion, and ignorance, compoſed the character of European manners; when the knight going to a tornament, firſt invoked his God, then his miſtreſs, and afterwards proceeded with a ſafe conſcience and great reſolution to engage his antagoniſt. In theſe Myſteries I have ſometimes ſeen groſs and open obſcenities. In a play of *The Old and New Teſtament*, Adam and Eve are both exhibited on the ſtage naked,[9] and converſing about their nakedneſs; this very pertinently introduces the next ſcene; in which they have coverings of fig-leaves. This extraordinary ſpectacle was beheld by a numerous aſſembly of both ſexes with great compoſure: they had the authority of ſcripture for ſuch a repreſentation, and they gave matters juſt as they found them in the third chapter of *Geneſis*. It would have been abſolute hereſy to have departed from the ſacred text in perſonating the primitive appearance of our firſt parents, whom the ſpectators ſo nearly reſembled in ſimplicity; and if this had not been the caſe, the dramatiſts were ignorant what to reject and what to retain."[a]

"I muſt not omit," adds Mr. Warton,[s] "an anecdote entirely new, with regard to the mode of playing the *Myſteries* at this period, [the latter part of the fifteenth century,] which yet is perhaps of

[9] This kind of primitive exhibition was revived in the time of King James the Firſt, ſeveral perſons appearing almoſt entirely naked in a paſtoral exhibited at Oxford before the King and Queen, and the ladies who attended her. It is, if I recollect right, deſcribed by Winwood.

[a] Warton's *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. I. pp. 242, *et ſeq.*

[s] *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 206.

much higher antiquity. In the year 1487, while Henry the Seventh kept his reſidence at the caſtle of Wincheſter, on occaſion of the birth of prince Arthur, on a Sunday, during the time of dinner, he was entertained with a religious drama called *Chriſti Deſcenſus ad inferos*, or *Chriſt's Deſcent into Hell.* It was repreſented by the *Pueri Eleemoſynarii*, or choir-boys, of Hyde Abbey, and Saint Swithin's Priory, two large monaſteries at Wincheſter. This is the only proof I have ever ſeen of choir-boys acting in the old *Myſteries:* nor do I recollect any other inſtance of a royal dinner, even on a feſtival, accompanied with this ſpecies of diverſion.[4] The ſtory of this interlude, in which the chief characters were Chriſt, Adam, Eve, Abraham, and John the Baptiſt, was not uncommon in the ancient religious drama, and I believe made a part of what is called the LUDUS PASCHALIS, or *Eaſter Play.* It occurs in the Coventry Plays acted on Corpus Chriſti day,[5]

[4] "Except, that on the firſt ſunday of the magnificent marriage of King James of Scotland with the princeſs Margaret of England, daughter of Henry the Seventh, celebrated at Edinburgh with high ſplendour, 'after dynnar a MORALITE was played by the ſaid Maſter Inglyſhe and his companions in the preſence of the kyng and qweene.' On one of the preceding days, 'after ſoupper the kynge and qweene beynge togader in hyr grett chamber, John Inglyſh and hys companions *plaid.*' This was in the year 1503. Apud Leland, Coll. iii. p. 300. Append. edit. 1770."

[5] See an account of the Coventry Plays in Stevens's Monaſticon, Vol. I. p. 238. "Sir W. Dugdale, ſpeaking of the Gray-friars or Franciſcans at Coventry, ſays, before the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries this city was very famous for the pageants that were played therein upon Corpus-Chriſti day; which pageants being acted with mighty ſtate and reverence by the friers of this houſe, had theatres for the ſeveral ſcenes, very large and high, placed upon wheeles, and drawn to all the eminent parts of the city, for the better advantage of the ſpectators.—An ancient manuſcript of the ſame is now to be ſeen in the Cottonian Library, ſub. effig. Veſp. D. 8. Sir William cites this manuſcript by the title of *Ludus Coventriæ*; but in the printed catalogue of that library, p. 113, it is named thus: A collection of

and in the Whitſun-plays at Cheſter, where it is called the HARROWING OF HELL. The repreſentation is, Chriſt entering hell triumphantly, deliver-

plays in old Engliſh metre; h. e. *Dramata ſacra, in quibus exhibentur hiſtoriæ Veteris & N. Teſtamenti, introductis quaſi in ſcenam perſonis illic memoratis, quas ſecum invicem colloquentes pro ingenio fingit poeta. Videntur olim coram populo, ſive ad inſtruendum, ſive ad placendum, a fratribus mendicantibus repræſentata.* It appears by the latter end of the prologue, that theſe plays or interludes were not only played at Coventry, but in other towns and places upon occaſion. And poſſibly this may be the ſame play which Stow tells us was played in the reign of Henry IV. which laſted for eight days. The book ſeems by the character and language to be at leaſt 300 years old. It begins with a general prologue, giving the arguments of forty pageants or geſticulations, (which were as ſo many ſeveral acts or ſcenes,) repreſenting all the hiſtories of both teſtaments, from the creation to the chuſing of St. *Mathias* to be an apoſtle. The ſtories of the New Teſtament are more largely expreſſed, viz. The Annunciation, Nativity, Viſitation; but more eſpecially all matters relating to the Paſſion very particularly, the Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, the choice of St. *Mathias:* after which is alſo repreſented the Aſſumption, and laſt Judgement. All theſe things were treated of in a very homely ſtyle, as we now think, infinitely below the dignity of the ſubject: But it ſeems the guſt of that age was not nice and delicate in theſe matters; the plain and incurious judgement of our anceſtors, being prepared with favour, and taking every thing by the right and eaſieſt handle: For example, in the ſcene relating to the Viſitation:

' *Maria.* But huſband of on thyng pray you moſt mekeley,
' I have knowing that our coſyn Elizabeth with childe is,
' That it pleaſe yow to go to her haſtyly,
' If ought we myth comfort her, it wer to me blys.
' *Joſeph.* A Gods ſake, is ſhe with child, ſche?
' Than will her huſband Zachary be mery.
' In Montana they dwelle, fer hence, ſo mory the,
' In the city of Juda, I know it verily;
' It is hence, I trowe, myles two a fifty;
' We ar like to be wery or we come at the ſame.
' I wole with a good will, bleſſyd wyff Mary;
' Now go we forth then in Goddys name,' &c.

A little before the reſurrection.

' *Nunc dormient milites, & veniet anima Chriſti de inferno, cum* Adam & Eva, Abraham, John Baptiſt, *et aliis.*

ing our firſt parents, and the moſt ſacred characters of the old and new teſtaments, from the dominion of Satan, and conveying them into paradiſe.—The compoſers of the Myſteries did not think the plain and probable events of the new teſtament ſufficiently marvellous for an audience who wanted only to be ſurpriſed. They frequently ſelected their materials from books which had more of the air of romance. The ſubject of the Myſteries juſt mentioned was borrowed from the *Pſeudo-Evangelium*, or the *fabulous Goſpel*, aſcribed to Nicodemus: a book, which together with the numerous apocryphal narratives, containing infinite innovations of the evangelical hiſtory, and forged at Conſtantinople by the early writers of the Greek church, gave birth to an endleſs variety of legends concerning the life of Chriſt and his apoſtles; and which, in the barbarous ages, was better eſteemed

'*Anima Chriſti.* Come forth, Adam, and Eve with the,
'And all my fryndes that herein be,
'In paradys come forth with me
'In blyſſe for to dwelle.
'The fende of hell that is yowr foo,
'He ſhall be wrappyd and woundyn in woo:
'Fro wo to welth now ſhall ye go,
'With myrth ever mor to melle.
'*Adam.* I thank the, Lord, of thy grete grace,
'That now is forgiven my gret treſpace,
'Now ſhall we dwellyn in blyſsful place,' &c.

"The laſt ſcene or pageant, which repreſents the day of Judgement, begins thus:

'*Michael. Surgite*, All men aryſe,
'*Venite ad Judicium*;
'For now is ſet the High Juſtice,
'And hath aſſignyd the day of dome;
'Kepe you redyly to this grett aſſyſe,
'Both gret and ſmall, all and ſum,
'And of your anſwer you now adviſe,
'What you ſhall ſay when that yow com," &c.

Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica, 8vo. 1699, pp. 15, 17, 18, 19.

than the genuine goſpel, on account of its improbabilities and abſurdities."

"But whatſoever was the ſource of theſe exhibitions, they were thought to contribute ſo much to the information and inſtruction of the people on the moſt important ſubjects of religion, that one of the popes granted a pardon of one thouſand days to every perſon who reſorted peaceably to the plays performed in the Whitſun week at Cheſter, beginning with the creation, and ending with the general judgement; and this indulgence was ſeconded by the biſhop of the dioceſe, who granted forty days of pardon: the pope at the ſame time denouncing the ſentence of damnation on all thoſe incorrigible ſinners who preſumed to interrupt the due celebration of theſe pious ſports.[6] It is certain that they had their uſe, not only in teaching the great truths of ſcripture to men who could not read the Bible, but in aboliſhing the barbarous attachment to military games, and the bloody contentions of the tornament, which had ſo long prevailed as the ſole ſpecies of popular amuſement. Rude and even ridiculous as they were, they ſoftened the manners of the people, by diverting the public attention to ſpectacles in which the mind was concerned, and by creating a regard for other arts than thoſe of bodily ſtrength and ſavage valour."

I may add, that theſe repreſentations were ſo far from being conſidered as indecent or profane, that even a ſupreme pontiff, Pope Pius the Second, about the year 1416, compoſed and cauſed to be acted before him on Corpus Chriſti day, a Myſtery, in which was repreſented the *court of the king of heaven.*[7]

[6] MSS. Harl. 2124, 2013.

[7] *Hiſtriomaſtix*, 4to. 1633, p. 112.

Theſe religious dramas were uſually repreſented on holy feſtivals in or near churches. "In ſeveral of our old ſcriptural plays," ſays Mr. Warton, "we ſee ſome of the ſcenes directed to be repreſented *cum cantu et organis*, a common rubrick in a miſſal. That is, becauſe they were performed in a church where the choir aſſiſted. There is a curious paſſage in Lambarde's Topographical Dictionary,[8] written about the year 1570, much to our purpoſe, which I am therefore tempted to tranſcribe. 'In the dayes of ceremonial religion, they uſed at Wytney (in Oxfordſhire) to ſet fourthe yearly in maner of a ſhew or interlude, the reſurrection of our Lord, &c. For the which purpoſes, and the more lyvely heareby to exhibite to the eye the hole action of the reſurrection, the prieſtes garniſhed out certain ſmall puppettes, repreſenting the perſons of Chriſt, the Watchman, Marie, and others; amongeſt the which, one bore the parte of a waking watchman, who eſpiinge Chriſte to arriſe, made a continuall noyce, like to the ſound that is cauſed by the metynge of two ſtickes, and was therefore commonly called *Jack Snacker of Wytney*. The like toye I myſelf, beinge then a childe, once ſaw in Powles church, at London, at a feaſt of Whitſuntyde; wheare the comynge downe of the Holy Ghoſt was ſet forthe by a white pigeon, that was let to fly out of a hole that yet is to be ſene in the mydſt of the roofe of the great ile, and by a longe cenſer[9] which deſcendinge out of the ſame place

[8] P. 459, edit. 1730, 4to.

[9] This may ſerve to explain a very extraordinary paſſage in Stowe's *Annales*, p. 690, edit 1605: "And on the morrowe hee [King Edward the Fourth] went crowned in Paul's church in London, in the honor of God and S. Paule, and there *an Angell came downe, and cenſed him.*"

almoſt to the verie grounde, was ſwinged up and downe at ſuch a lengthe, that it reached with thone ſwepe, almoſt to the weſt-gate of the churche, and with the other to the quyre ſtaires of the ſame; breathinge out over the whole churche and companie a moſt pleaſant perfume of ſuch ſwete thinges as burned therein. With the like doome-ſhews they uſed everie where to furniſh ſondrye parts of theire church ſervice, as by their ſpectacles of the nativitie, paſſion, and aſcenſion,"[3] &c.

In a preceding paſſage Mr. Warton has mentioned that the ſinging boys of Hide Abbey and St. Swithin's Priory at Wincheſter, performed a Myſtery before King Henry the Seventh in 1487; adding, that this is the only inſtance he has met with of choir-boys performing in Myſteries; but it appears from the accompts of various monaſteries that this was a very ancient practice, probably coeval with the earlieſt attempts at dramatick repreſentations. In the year 1378, the ſcholars, or choriſters of Saint Paul's cathedral, preſented a petition to King Richard the Second, praying his Majeſty to prohibit ſome ignorant and unexperienced perſons from acting the HISTORY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, to the great prejudice of the clergy of the church, who had expended conſiderable ſums for a publick preſentation of that play at the enſuing Chriſtmas. About twelve years afterwards, the Pariſh Clerks of London, as Stowe informs us, performed ſpiritual plays at Skinner's Well for three days ſucceſſively, in the preſence of the King, Queen, and nobles of the realm. And in 1409, the tenth year of King Henry IV. they acted at Clerkenwell for eight days ſucceſſively a play, which "was

[3] Warton's *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. I. p. 240.

matter from the creation of the world," and probably concluded with the day of judgement, in the preſence of moſt of the nobility and gentry of England.[3]

We are indebted to Mr. Warton for ſome curious circumſtances relative to theſe Miracle-plays, which "appear in a roll of the Churchwardens of Baſſingborne, in Cambridgeſhire, which is an accompt of the expences and receptions for acting the play of SAINT GEORGE at Baſſingborne, on the feaſt of Saint Margaret, in the year 1511. They collected upwards of four pounds in twenty-ſeven neighbouring pariſhes for furniſhing the play. They diſburſed about two pounds in the repreſentation. Theſe diſburſements are to four minſtrels, or waits, of Cambridge, for three days, vs. vjd. To the players, in bread and ale, iijs. ijd. To the *garnement-man* for *garnements* and *propyrts*,[4] that is, for dreſſes, decorations, and implements, and for play-

[3] Probably either the Cheſter or Coventry Myſteries. "In the ignorant ages the Pariſh-clerks of London might juſtly be conſidered as a literary ſociety. It was an eſſential part of their profeſſion not only to ſing, but to read; an accompliſhment almoſt wholly confined to the clergy; and, on the whole, they ſeem to come under the character of a religious fraternity. They were incorporated into a guild or fellowſhip by King Henry the Third about the year 1240, under the patronage of ſaint Nicholas.——Their profeſſion, employment, and character, naturally dictated to this ſpiritual brotherhood the repreſentation of plays, eſpecially thoſe of the ſcriptural kind: and their conſtant practice in ſhews, proceſſions, and vocal muſick, eaſily accounts for their addreſs in detaining the beſt company which England afforded in the fourteenth century, at a religious farce, for more than one week." Warton's *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 396.

[4] "The property-room," as Mr. Warton has obſerved, "is yet known at our theatres."

The following liſt of the properties uſed in a Myſtery formed on the ſtory of Tobit in the Old Teſtament, which was exhibited in the Broad-gate, Lincoln, in July 1563, (6 Eliz.) appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1787:

books, xxs. To John Hobard, *brotherhoode preeſte*, that is, a prieſt of the guild in the church, for the *play-book*, ijs. viiid. For the *croſte*, or field in which the play was exhibited, js. For *propyrte-making*, or furniture, js. ivd. For fiſh and bread, and to ſetting up the ſtages, ivd. For painting three *fanchoms* and four *tormentors*, words which I do not underſtand, but perhaps *fantoms* and devils - - - -. The reſt was expended for a feaſt on the occaſion, in which are recited 'Four chicken for the gentilmen, ivd.' It appears by the manuſcript of the Coventry plays, that a temporary ſcaffold only was erected for theſe performances."[5]

In the ancient religious plays the Devil was very frequently introduced. He was uſually repreſented with horns, a very wide mouth, (by means of a maſk) ſtaring eyes, a large noſe, a red beard, cloven feet, and a tail. His conſtant attendant was the Vice, (the buffoon of the piece,) whoſe principal employment was to belabour the Devil with his wooden dagger, and to make him roar for the entertainment of the populace.[6]

" *Lying at Mr. Norton's houſe in tenure of William Smart.*

" Firſt Hell-mouth, with a nether chap. *Item*, A priſon, with a covering. *It.* Sarah's chamber."

" *Remaining in St. Swithin's church.*

" *It.* A great Idol. *It.* A tomb with a covering. *It.* The cyty of Jeruſalem with towers and pinacles. *It.* The cyty of Rages, with towers and pinacles. *It.* The city of Nineveh. *It.* The kings palace of Nineveh. *It.* Old Tobyes houſe. *It.* The kyngs palace at Laches. *It.* A firmament with a firy cloud, and a double cloud, *in the cuſtody of* Thomas Fulbeck, *Alderman.*"

[5] *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 326. " Strype, under the year 1559, ſays, that after a grand feaſt at Guildhall, 'the ſame day was a *ſcaffold* ſet up in the hall for a play." Ann. Ref. I. 197, edit. 1725.

[6] " It was a pretty part in the old church-playes," ſays Biſhop

As the *Myſteries* or *Miracle-plays* "frequently required the introduction of allegorical characters, ſuch as Charity, Sin, Death, Hope, Faith, or the like, and as the common poetry of the times, eſpecially among the French, began to deal much in allegory, at length plays were formed entirely conſiſting of ſuch perſonifications. Theſe were called MORALITIES. The *Miracle-plays* or MYSTERIES were totally deſtitute of invention and plan: they tamely repreſented ſtories, according to the letter of the ſcripture, or the reſpective legend. But the MORALITIES indicate dawnings of the dramatick art: they contain ſome rudiments of a plot, and even attempt to delineate characters, and to paint manners. From hence the gradual tranſition to real hiſtorical perſonages was natural and obvious."[7]

Dr. Percy in his account of the Engliſh Stage has given an Analyſis of two ancient Moralities, entitled *Every Man*, and *Luſty Juventus*, from which a perfect notion of this kind of drama may be obtained. *Every Man* was written in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and *Luſty Juventus* in that of King Edward the Sixth. As Dr. Percy's curious and valuable collection of ancient Engliſh Poetry is in the hands of every ſcholar, I ſhall content myſelf with merely referring to it. Many other Moralities are yet extant, of ſome of which I ſhall give titles below.[8] Of one, which is not now ex-

Harſenet, "when the nimble Vice would ſkip up nimbly like a Jack-an-apes into the Devil's necke, and ride the devil a courſe, and belabour him with his wooden dagger, till he made him roar, whereat the people would laugh to ſee the Devil ſo Vice-haunted." Harſenet's *Declaration of Popiſh Impoſtures*, &c. 4to. 1603.

[7] Warton's *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. I. p. 242. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. I. p. 128.

[8] *Magnificence*, written by John Skelton; *Impatient Poverty*,

tant, we have a curious account in a book entitled, *Mount Tabor, or Private Exerciſes of a Penitent Sinner, by* R. W. [R. Willis] *Eſqr. publiſhed in the year of his age* 75, *Anno Domini*, 1639; an extract from which will give the reader a more accurate notion of the old Moralities than a long diſſertation on the ſubject.

"UPON A STAGE-PLAY WHICH I SAW WHEN I WAS A CHILD.

"In the city of Glouceſter the manner is, (as I think it is in other like corporations,) that when players of enterludes come to towne, they firſt attend the Mayor, to enforme him what noblemans ſervants they are, and ſo to get licence for their publike playing; and if the Mayor like the actors, or would ſhew reſpect to their lord and maſter, he appoints them to play their firſt play before himſelf, and the Alderman and Common-Counſell of the city; and that is called *the Mayor's play:* where every one that will, comes in without money, the Mayor giving the players a reward as hee thinks fit to ſhew reſpect unto them. At ſuch a play, my father tooke me with him, and made me ſtand between his leggs, as he ſate upon one of the benches, where we ſaw and heard very well. The play was called *The Cradle of Security*,[9] wherein

1560; *The Life and Repentance of Marie Magdalene*, 1567; *The Trial of Treaſure*, 1567; *The Nice Wanton*, 1568; *The Diſobedient Child*, no date; *The Marriage of Wit and Science*, 1570; *The Interlude of Youth*, no date; *The longer thou liveſt, the more Fool thou art*, no date; *The Interlude of Wealth and Health*, no date; *All for Money*, 1578; *The Conflict of Conſcience*, 1581; *The three Ladies of London*, 1584; *The three Lords of London*, 1590; *Tom Tyler and his Wife*, &c.

[9] *The Cradle of Securitie* is mentioned with ſeveral other Moralities, in a play which has not been printed, entitled *Sir Thomas More*. MSS. Harl. 3768.

was perſonated a king or ſome great prince, with his courtiers of ſeveral kinds, among which three ladies were in ſpecial grace with him; and they keeping him in delights and pleaſures, drew him from his graver counſellors, hearing of ſermons, and liſtening to good councell and admonitions, that in the end they got him to lye down in a cradle upon the ſtage, where theſe three ladies joyning in a ſweet ſong, rocked him aſleepe, that he ſnorted againe; and in the mean time cloſely conveyed under the cloaths wherewithall he was covered, a vizard, like a ſwines ſnout, upon his face, with three wire chains faſtened thereunto, the other end whereof being holden ſeverally by thoſe three ladies; who fall to ſinging againe, and then diſcovered his face, that the ſpectators might ſee how they had transformed him, going on with their ſinging. Whilſt all this was acting, there came forth of another doore at the fartheſt end of the ſtage, two old men; the one in blew, with a ſerjeant at armes his mace on his ſhoulder; the other in red, with a drawn ſword in his hand, and leaning with the other hand upon the others ſhoulder; and ſo they went along with a ſoft pace round about by the ſkirt of the ſtage, till at laſt they came to the cradle, when all the court was in the greateſt jollity; and then the foremoſt old man with his mace ſtroke a fearfull blow upon the cradle; wherewith all the courtiers, with the three ladies, and the vizard, all vaniſhed; and the deſolate prince ſtarting up bare-faced, and finding himſelf thus ſent for to judgement, made a lamentable complaint of his miſerable caſe, and ſo was carried away by wicked ſpirits. This prince did perſonate in the Morall, the wicked of the world; the three ladies, Pride, Covetouſneſs, and Luxury; the two old men, the end of the world,

and the laſt judgement. This ſight took ſuch impreſſion in me, that when I came towards mans eſtate, it was as freſh in my memory, as if I had ſeen it newly acted."[2]

The writer of this book appears to have been born in the ſame year with our great poet (1564). Suppoſing him to have been ſeven or eight years old when he ſaw this interlude, the exhibition muſt have been in 1571 or 1572.

I am unable to aſcertain when the firſt Morality appeared, but incline to think not ſooner than the reign of King Edward the Fourth (1460). The publick pageants of the reign of King Henry the Sixth were uncommonly ſplendid;[3] and being then firſt enlivened by the introduction of ſpeaking allegorical perſonages properly and characteriſtically habited, they naturally led the way to thoſe perſonifications by which Moralities were diſtinguiſhed from the ſimpler religious dramas called Myſteries. We muſt not however ſuppoſe, that, after Moralities were introduced, Myſteries ceaſed to be exhibited. We have already ſeen that a Myſtery was repreſented before King Henry the Seventh at Wincheſter in 1487. Sixteen years afterwards, on the firſt Sunday after the marriage of his daughter with King James of Scotland, a Morality was performed.[4] In the early part of the

[2] *Mount Tabor*, &c. 8vo. 1639, pp. 110, *et ſeq.* With this curious extract I was favoured, ſeveral years ago, by the Rev. Mr. Bowle of Idmiſton near Saliſbury.

[3] See Warton's *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 199.

[4] Sir James Ware in his *Annales*, folio, 1664, after having given an account of the Statute, 33 Henry VIII. c. i. by which Henry was declared king of Ireland, and Ireland made a kingdom, informs us, that the new law was proclaimed in St. Patrick's church, in the preſence of the Lord Deputy St. Leger, and a great number of peers, who attended in their parliament robes. "It is needleſs,"

reign of King Henry the Eighth they were perhaps performed indiſcriminately; but Myſteries

he adds, "to mention the feaſts, *comedies*, and ſports which followed." "Epulas, *comœdias*, et certamina ludicra, quæ ſequebantur, quid attinet dicere?" The mention of *comedies* might lead us to ſuppoſe that our ſiſter kingdom had gone before us in the cultivation of the drama; but I find from a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, that what are here called *comedies*, were nothing more than *pageants*. "In the parliament of 1541," ſays the author of the memoir, "wherein Henry VIII. was declared king of Ireland, there were preſent the earls of Ormond and Deſmond, the lord Barry, M'Gilla Phædrig, chieſtaine of Oſſory, the ſon of O'Bryan, M'Carthy More, with many Iriſh lords; and on Corpus Chriſti day they rode about the ſtreets in their parliament-robes, and the NINE WORTHIES was played, and the Mayor bore the mace before the deputy on horſeback.

Two of Bale's Myſteries, *God's Promiſes*, and *St. John Baptiſt*, we have been lately told, were acted by young men at the market-croſs in Kilkenny, on a ſunday, in the year 1552. See Walker's *Eſſay on the Iriſh Stage*, 4to. 1789, and *Collect. de Rebus Hiber.* Vol. II. p. 388: but there is a ſlight error in the date. Bale has himſelf informed us, that he was conſecrated Biſhop of Oſſory, February 2, 1552-3, (not on the 25th of March, as the writer of Bale's Life in *Biographia Britannica aſſerts*,) and that he ſoon afterwards went to his palace in Kilkenny. Theſe Myſteries were exhibited there on the 20th of Auguſt, 1553, the day on which Queen Mary was proclaimed, as appears from his own account: "On the xx daye of Auguſt was the ladye Marye with us at Kilkennye proclaimed Quene of England, &c.—The yonge men in the forenone played a tragedye of *Gods Promiſes in the old Lawe*, at the market-croſſe, with organe-plainges and ſonges, very aptely. In the afternone agayne they played a comedie of *Sanct Johan Baptiſtes* preachinges, of Chriſtes baptiſynge, and of his temptacion in the wildernelſe, to the ſmall contentacion of the preſtes and other papiſtes there." *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale*, &c. 16mo. no date, ſign. C 8.

The only theatre in Dublin in the reign of queen Elizabeth was a booth (if it may be called a theatre) erected in Hoggin Green, now College Green, where Myſteries and Moralities were occaſionally performed. It is ſtrange, that ſo lately as in the year 1600, at a time when many of Shakſpeare's plays had been exhibited in England, and lord Montjoy, the intimate friend of his patrons lord Eſſex and lord Southampton, was Deputy of Ireland, the old play of *Gorboduck*, written in the infancy of the ſtage, (for this piece had been originally preſented in 1562, under the name of *Ferrex*

were probably ſeldom repreſented after the ſtatute 34 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 1. which was made, as the preamble informs us, with a view that the kingdom ſhould be purged and cleanſed of all *religious plays, interludes*, rhymes, ballads, and ſongs, which are equally *peſtiferous* and *noyſome* to the commonweal. At this time both Moralities and Myſteries were made the vehicle of religious controverſy; Bale's *Comedy of the three Laws of Nature*, printed in 1538, (which in fact is a Myſtery,) being a diſguiſed ſatire againſt popery; as the Morality of *Luſty Juventus* was written expreſsly with the ſame view in the reign of King Edward the Sixth.[5] In that of his ſucceſſor Queen Mary,

and Porrex,) ſhould have been performed at the Caſtle of Dublin: but ſuch is the fact, if we may believe Chetwood the prompter, who mentions that old Mr. Aſhbury had ſeen a bill dated the 7th of September, 1601, (queen Elizabeth's birth-day) "*for wax tapers for the play of* Gorboduck *done at the Caſtle, one and twenty ſhillings and two groats.*" Whether any plays were repreſented in Dublin in the reign of James the Firſt, I am unable to aſcertain. Barnaby Riche, who has given a curious account of Dublin in the year 1610, makes no mention of any theatrical exhibition. In 1635, when Lord Strafford was Lord Lieutenant, a theatre, probably under his patronage, was built in Werbergh-ſtreet; which, under the conduct of the well-known John Ogilby, Maſter of the Revels in Ireland, continued open till October 1641, when it was ſhut up by order of the Lords Juſtices. At this theatre Shirley's *Royal Maſter* was originally repreſented in 1639, and Burnel's *Landgartha* in 1641. In 1662 Ogilby was reſtored to his office, and a new theatre was erected in Orange-ſtreet, (ſince called Smock-alley,) part of which fell down in the year 1671. *Agrippa, King of Alba*, a tragedy tranſlated from the French of Quinault, was acted there before the duke of Ormond, in 1675; and it continued open, I believe, till the death of king Charles the Second. The diſturbances which followed in Ireland put an end for a time to all theatrical entertainments.

[5] "This mode of attack" (as Mr. Warton has obſerved) "was ſeldom returned by the oppoſite party: the catholick worſhip founded on ſenſible repreſentations afforded a much better hold for ridicule, than the religion of ſome of the ſects of the reformers, which was

Myſteries were again revived, as appendages to the papiſtical worſhip. "In the year 1556," ſays Mr. Warton, "*a goodly ſtage-play* of the *Paſſion of Chriſt* was preſented at the Grey-friars in London, on Corpus-Chriſti day, before the Lord-Mayor, the Privy-council, and many great eſtates of the realm. Strype alſo mentions, under the year 1577, a ſtage-play at the Grey-friers, of the Paſſion of Chriſt, on the day that war was proclaimed in London againſt France, and in honour of that occaſion. On Saint Olave's day in the ſame year, the holiday of the church in Silver-ſtreet which is dedicated to that ſaint, was kept with great ſolemnity. At eight of the clock at night, began a ſtage-play of *goodly matter*, being the miraculous hiſtory of the life of that ſaint, which continued four hours, and concluded with many religious ſongs."[6] No Myſteries, I believe, were repreſented during the reign of Elizabeth, except ſuch as were occaſionally performed by thoſe who were favourers of the popiſh religion,[7] and thoſe already

of a more ſimple and ſpiritual nature." *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 378, n. The interlude, however, called *Every Man*, which was written in defence of the church of Rome, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, is an exception. It appears alſo from a proclamation promulgated early in the reign of his ſon, of which mention will be made hereafter, that the favourers of popery about that time had levelled ſeveral dramatick invectives againſt Archbiſhop Cranmer, and the doctrines of the reformers.

[6] *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 326.

[7] That Myſteries were occaſionally repreſented in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign appears from the aſſertions of the controverſial writers. "They play" ſays one of them, "and counterfeite the whole Paſſion ſo trimly, with all the ſeven ſorrowes of our lady, as though it had been nothing elſe but a ſimple and plain enterlude, to make boys laugh at, and a little to recreate ſorowful harts." *Beehive of the Romiſhe Churche*, 1580, p. 207. See alſo *ſupra*, p. 134, n. 4.

mentioned, known by the name of the Cheſter Myſteries, which had been originally compoſed in 1328, were revived in the time of King Henry the Eighth, (1533,) and again performed at Cheſter in the year 1600. The laſt Myſtery, I believe, ever repreſented in England, was that of *Chriſt's Paſſion*, in the reign of King James the Firſt, which Prynne tells us was "performed at Elie-Houſe in Holborne, when Gundomar lay there, on Good-friday at night, at which there were thouſands preſent."[8]

In France the repreſentation of Myſteries was forbid in the year 1548, when the fraternity aſſociated under the name of *The Actors of our Saviour's Paſſion*, who had received letters patent from King Charles the Sixth, in 1402, and had for near 150 years exhibited religious plays, built their new theatre on the ſite of the Duke of Burgundy's houſe; and were authoriſed by an arret of parliament to act, on condition that "they ſhould meddle with none but profane ſubjects, ſuch as are lawful and honeſt, and not repreſent any ſacred Myſteries."[9] Repreſentations founded on holy writ continued to be exhibited in Italy till the year 1660, and the Myſtery of *Chriſt's Paſſion* was repreſented at Vienna ſo lately as the early part of the preſent century.

Having thus occaſionally mentioned foreign theatres, I take this opportunity to obſerve, that the ſtages of France ſo lately as in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign were entirely unfurniſhed with ſcenery or any kind of decoration, and that the performers at that time remained on the

[8] *Hiſtriomaſtix*, quarto, 1633, p. 117, n.

[9] Riccoboni's *Account of the Theatres of Europe*, 8vo. 1741, p. 124.

ſtage the whole time of the exhibition; in which mode perhaps our Myſteries in England were repreſented. For this information we are indebted to the elder Scaliger, in whoſe *Poeticks* is the following curious paſſage: "*Nunc in Gallia* ita agunt fabulas, ut omnia in conſpectu ſint; UNIVERSUS APPARATUS *diſpoſitis ſublimibus ſedibus. Perſonæ ipſæ nunquam diſcedunt: qui ſilent pro abſentibus habentur.* At enimvero perridiculum, ibi ſpectatorem videre te audire, et te videre teipſum non audire quæ alius coram te de te loquatur; quaſi ibi non ſis, ubi es: cum tamen maxima poetæ vis ſit, ſuſpendere animos, atque eos facere ſemper expectantes. At hic tibi novum fit nihil; ut prius ſatietas ſubrepat, quam obrepat fames. Itaque recte objecit Æſchylo Euripides apud Ariſtophanem in Ranis, quod Niobem et Achillem in ſcenam introduxiſſet capite co-operto; neque nunquam ullum verbum qui ſint loquuti."[a] That is, "At preſent in France [about the year 1556] plays are repreſented in ſuch a manner, that nothing is withdrawn from the view of the ſpectator. The whole apparatus of the theatre conſiſts of ſome high ſeats ranged in proper

[a] Jul. Cæſ. Scaligeri *Poetices Libri Septem.* Folio, 1561. Lib. I. c. xxi. Julius Cæſar Scaliger died at Agen, in the province of Guienne in France, on the 21ſt of October, 1558, in the 75th year of his age. He wrote his *Poeticks* in that town a few years before his death.

Riccoboni gives us the ſame account in his Hiſtory of the French Theatre. "In the repreſentations of the Myſteries, the theatre repreſented paradiſe, hell, heaven, and earth, and all at once; and though the action varied, there was no change of the decorations. After an actor had performed his part, he did not go off the ſtage, but retired to a corner of it, and ſate there in full view of all the ſpectators." *Hiſtorical and Critical Account of the Theatres of Europe*, octavo, 1741, p. 118. We ſhall preſently ſee that at a much later period, and long after the Myſteries had ceaſed to be exhibited, "though the action changed, there was no change of decoration," either in France or England.

order. The perſons of the ſcene never depart during the repreſentation: he who ceaſes to ſpeak, is conſidered as if he were no longer on the ſtage. But in truth it is extremely ridiculous, that the ſpectator ſhould ſee the actor liſtening, and yet he himſelf ſhould not hear what one of his fellow-actors ſays concerning him, though in his own preſence and within his hearing: as if he were abſent, while he is preſent. It is the great object of the dramatick poet to keep the mind in a conſtant ſtate of ſuſpence and expectation. But in our theatres, there can be no novelty, no ſurpriſe: inſomuch that the ſpectator is more likely to be ſatiated with what he has already ſeen, than to have any appetite for what is to come. Upon this ground it was, that Euripides objected to Æſchylus, in The Frogs of Ariſtophanes, for having introduced Niobe and Achilles as mutes upon the ſcene, with a covering which entirely concealed their heads from the ſpectators."

Another practice, equally extraordinary, is mentioned by Bulenger in his treatiſe on the Grecian and Roman theatres. In his time, ſo late as in the year 1600, all the actors employed in a dramatick piece came on the ſtage in a troop, before the play began, and preſented themſelves to the ſpectators, in order, ſays he, to raiſe the expectation of the audience. "Putem tamen (*quod hodieque fit*) omnes actores antequam ſinguli agerent, conſeſtim et in turba in proſcenium prodiiſſe, ut ſui expectationem commoverent."[3] I know not whether this was ever practiſed in England. Inſtead of raiſing, it ſhould ſeem more likely to repreſs, expectation. I ſuppoſe, however, this writer con-

[3] Bulengeri de *Theatro*, 8vo. 1600, Lib. I. p. 60, b.

ceived the audience would be animated by the *number* of the characters, and that this diſplay would operate on the gaping ſpectators like ſome of our modern enormous play-bills; in which the length of the ſhow ſometimes conſtitutes the principal merit of the entertainment.

Mr. Warton obſerves that Moralities were become ſo faſhionable a ſpectacle about the cloſe of the reign of Henry the Seventh, that "John Raſtall, a learned typographer, brother-in-law to Sir Thomas More, extended its province, which had been hitherto confined either to moral allegory, or to religion blended with buffoonery, and conceived a deſign of making it the vehicle of ſcience and philoſophy. With this view he publiſhed *A new* INTERLUDE *and a mery, of the nature of the iiij Elements, declaring many proper points of philoſophy naturall, and dyvers ſtraunge landys, &c.* In the coſmographical part of the play, in which the poet profeſſes to treat of *dyvers ſtraunge landys, and of the new-found landys*, the tracts of America recently diſcovered, and the manners of the natives are deſcribed. The characters are, a Meſſenger, who ſpeaks the prologue, Nature, Humanity, Studious Deſire, Senſual Appetite, a Taverner, Experience, and Ignorance."[4]

As it is uncertain at what period of time the ancient Myſteries ceaſed to be repreſented as an ordinary ſpectacle for the amuſement of the people, and Moralities were ſubſtituted in their room, it is

[4] *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 364. "Dr. Percy ſuppoſes this play to have been written about the year 1510, from the following lines:

'—— Within this xx yere
'Weſtwarde he found new landes
'That we never harde tell of before this.'

The Weſt-Indies were diſcovered by Columbus in 1492." *Ibid.*

equally difficult to aſcertain the preciſe time when the latter gave way to a more legitimate theatrical exhibition. We know that Moralities were exhibited *occaſionally* during the whole of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and even in that of her ſucceſſor, long after regular dramas had been preſented on the ſcene;[5] but I ſuſpect that about the year 1570 (the 13th year of Queen Elizabeth) this ſpecies of drama began to loſe much of its attraction, and gave way to ſomething that had more the appearance of comedy and tragedy. *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, which was written by Mr. Still, (afterwards Biſhop of Bath and Wells,) in the 23d year of his age, and acted at Chriſt's College, Cambridge, in 1566, is pointed out by the ingenious writer of the tract entitled *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, as the firſt piece "that looks like a regular comedy;" that is, the firſt play that was neither Myſtery nor Morality, and in which ſome humour and diſcrimination of character may be found. In 1561-2 Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurſt, and Thomas Norton, joined in writing the tragedy of *Ferrex and Porrex*, which was exhibited on the 18th of January in that year by the Students of the Inner Temple, before Queen Elizabeth at Whitehall. Neither of theſe pieces appears to have been acted on a publick theatre, nor was there at that time any building in London conſtructed ſolely for the purpoſe of repreſenting plays. Of the latter piece,

[5] The licence granted in 1603 to Shakſpeare and his fellow-comedians, authoriſes them to play comedies, tragedies, hiſtories, interludes, *morals*, paſtorals, &c. See alſo *The Guls Hornbooke*, 1609: "—— if in the middle of his play, (bee it paſtoral or comedie, *morall* or tragedie,) you riſe with a ſhrewd and diſcontented face," &c.

which, as Mr. Warton has obſerved, is perhaps "the firſt ſpecimen in our language of an heroick tale written in verſe, and divided into acts and ſcenes, and cloathed in all the formalities of a regular tragedy," a correct analyſis may be found in The HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY,[6] and the play itſelf within theſe few years has been accurately reprinted.

It has been juſtly remarked by the ſame judicious writer, that the early practice of performing plays in ſchools and univerſities greatly contributed to the improvement of our drama. "While the people were amuſed with Skelton's *Trial of Simony*, Bale's *God's Promiſes, and Chriſt's Deſcent into Hell*, the ſcholars of the times were compoſing and acting plays on hiſtorical ſubjects, and in imitation of Plautus and Terence. Hence ideas of legitimate fable muſt have been imperceptibly derived to the popular and vernacular drama."[7]

In confirmation of what has been ſuggeſted, it may be obſerved, that the principal dramatick writers, before Shakſpeare appeared, were ſcholars. Greene, Lodge, Peele, Marlowe, Naſhe, Lily, and Kyd, had all a regular univerſity education. From whatever cauſe it may have ariſen, the dramatick poetry about this period certainly aſſumed a better, though ſtill an exceptionable, form. The example which had been furniſhed by Sackville was quickly followed, and a great number of tragedies and hiſtorical plays was produced between the years 1570 and 1590; ſome of which are ſtill extant, though by far the greater part is loſt. This, I apprehend, was the great era of thoſe bloody and bombaſtick pieces, which afforded ſubſequent

[6] Vol. III. pp. 355, *et ſeq.*

[7] *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 388.

writers perpetual topicks of ridicule: and during the ſame period were exhibited many *Hiſtories*, or hiſtorical dramas, formed on our Engliſh Chronicles, and repreſenting a ſeries of events ſimply in the order of time in which they happened. Some have ſuppoſed that Shakſpeare was the firſt dramatick poet that introduced this ſpecies of drama; but this is an undoubted error. I have elſewhere obſerved that every one of the ſubjects on which he conſtructed his hiſtorical plays, appears to have been dramatized, and brought upon the ſcene, before his time.[s] The hiſtorical drama

[s] See Vol. X. p. 450.

Goſſon in his *Plays confuted in five Actions*, printed about the year 1580, ſays, "In playes either thoſe things are fained that never were, as *Cupid and Pſyche*, plaied at Paules; [he means, in Paul's ſchool,]—or if a true *hiſtorie* be taken in hand, it is made like our ſhavelings, longeſt at the riſing and falling of the ſunne." From the ſame writer we learn, that many preceding dramatick poets had travelled over the ground in which the ſubjects of ſeveral of Shakſpeare's other plays may be found. "I may boldly ſay it, (ſays Goſſon,) becauſe I have ſeene it, that *The Palace of Pleaſure*, *The Golden Aſſe*, *The Æthiopian Hiſtorie*, *Amadis of Fraunce*, *The Round Table*, bawdie comedies in Latin, French, Italian, and Spaniſh, have beene *thoroughly ranſackt* to furniſh the playe-houſes in London. Signat. D 5. b.

Lodge, his antagoniſt in this controverſy, in his *Play of Plays and Paſtimes*, a work which I have never ſeen, urges us, as Prynne informs us, in defence of plays, that "they dilucidate and well explain many darke obſcure *hiſtories*, imprinting them in men's minds in ſuch indelible characters that they can hardly be obliterated." *Hiſtriomaſtix*, p. 940. See alſo Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, 1612: "Plays have made the ignorant more apprehenſive, taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous *hiſtories*; inſtructed ſuch as cannot reade, in the diſcovery of our *Engliſh Chronicles*: and what man have you now of that weake capacity that cannot diſcourſe of any notable thing recorded, *even from William the Conqueror*, nay, from the landing of Brute, untill this day, being poſſeſt of their true uſe?"—In Florio's dialogues in Italian and Engliſh, printed in 1591, we have the following dialogue:

"*G.* After dinner we will go ſee a play.

is by an elegant modern writer ſuppoſed to have owed its riſe to the publication of *The Mirrour for Magiſtrates*, in which many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters in Engliſh hiſtory are introduced, giving a poetical narrative of their own misfortunes.[9] Of this book three editions, with various alterations and improvements, were printed between 1563 and 1587.

At length (about the year 1591) the great luminary of the dramatick world blazed out, and our poet produced thoſe plays which have now for two hundred years been the boaſt and admiration of his countrymen.

Our earlieſt dramas, as we have ſeen, were repreſented in churches or near them by eccleſiaſticks: but at a very early period, I believe, we had regular and eſtabliſhed players, who obtained a livelihood by their art. So early as in the year 1378, as has been already noticed, the ſinging-boys of St. Paul's repreſented to the King, that they had been at a conſiderable expence in preparing a ſtage repreſentation at Chriſtmas. Theſe, however, cannot properly be called comedians, nor am I able to point out the time when the profeſſion of a player became common and eſtabliſhed. It has been ſuppoſed that the licenſe granted by Queen Elizabeth to James Burbage and others, in 1574, was the firſt regular licenſe ever granted to comedians in England; but this is a miſtake, for Heywood informs

" *H.* The plaies that they play in England are not right comedies.

" *T.* Yet they do nothing elſe but plaie every daye.

" *H.* Yea, but they are neither right comedies, nor right tragedies.

" *G.* How would you name them then?

" *H.* Repreſentations of *hiſtories*, without any decorum."

9 Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, Vol. I. p. 166.

us that ſimilar licenſes had been granted by her father King Henry the Eighth, King Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary. Stowe records, that "when King Edward the Fourth would ſhew himſelf in ſtate to the view of the people, he repaired to his palace at St. John's, where he was accuſtomed to ſee the *City Actors*."[2] In two books in the Remembrancer's-office in the Exchequer, containing an account of the daily expences of King Henry the Seventh, are the following articles; from which it appears that at that time players, both French and Engliſh, made a part of the appendages of the court, and were ſupported by regal eſtabliſhment.

"*Item*, to Hampton of Worceſter for making of balades, 20s. *Item*, to my ladie the kings moders poëte, 66s. 8d. *Item*, to a Welſh Rymer, in reward, 13s. 4d. *Item*, to my Lord Privie-Seals fole, in rew. 10s. *Item*, to Pachye the fole, for a rew. 6s. 8d. *Item*, to the fooliſh duke of Lancaſter, 3s. *Item*, to Dix the foles maſter, for a months wages, 10s. *Item*, to the King of Frances fole, in rew. 4l. *Item*, to *the Frenſhe players*, in rew. 20s. *Item*, to the tumbler upon the ropes, 20s. *Item*, for heling of a ſeke maid, 6s. 8d. [Probably the piece of gold given by the King in touching for the evil.] *Item*, to my lord princes organ-player, for a quarters wages at Michell. 10s. *Item*, to *the players of London*, in reward, 10s. *Item*, to Maſter

[2] *Apology for Actors*, 4to. 1612, Signat. E 1. b. "Since then," adds Heywood, "that houſe by the princes free gift hath belonged to the office of the Revels, where our court playes have been in *late dayes* yearely rehearſed, perfected, and corrected, before they come to the publike view of the prince and the nobility." This houſe muſt have been choſen on account of its neighbourhood to Whitehall, where the royal theatre then was. The regular office of the Revels at that time was on St. Peter's Hill, near the Black-friars' playhouſe.

Barnard, the blind poete, 100s. *Item*, to a man and woman for ſtrawberries, 8s. 4d. *Item*, to a woman for a red roſe, 2s." The foregoing extracts are from a book of which almoſt every page is ſigned by the King's own hand, in the 13th year of his reign. The following are taken from a book which contains an account of expences in the 9th year of his reign: " *Item*, to Cart for writing of a boke, 6s. 8d. *Item*, payd for *two playes* in the hall, 26s. 8d. *Item*, to *the kings players* for a reward, 100s. *Item*, to the king to play at cardes, 100s. *Item*, loſt to my lord Morging at buttes, 6s. 8d. *Item*, to Harry Pyning, the king's godſon, in reward, 20s. *Item*, to the players that begged by the way, 6s. 8d."[3]

Some of theſe articles I have preſerved as curious, though they do not relate to the ſubject immediately before us. This account aſcertains, that there was then not only a regular troop of players in London, but alſo a royal company. The intimate knowledge of the French language and manners which Henry muſt have acquired during his long ſojourn in foreign courts, (from 1471 to 1485,) accounts for the article relative to the company of French players.

In a manuſcript in the Cottonian Library in the Muſeum, a narrative is given of the ſhews and ceremonies exhibited at Chriſtmas in the fifth year of this king's reign, 1490. " This Criſtmaſs I ſaw no diſgyſyngs, and but *right few plays*; but ther was an abbot of miſ-rule, that made muche ſport, and did right well his office.—On Candell Maſs day, the king, the qwen, my ladye the kings moder,

[3] For theſe extracts I am indebted to Francis Groſe, Eſq. to whom every admirer of the venerable remains of Engliſh antiquity has the higheſt obligations.

with the ſubſtance of al the lordes temporell preſent at the parlement, &c. wenten a proceſſion from the chapell into the hall, and ſoo into Weſtmynſter Hall:—The kynge was that daye in a riche gowne of purple, pirled withe gold, furred wythe ſabuls.—At nyght the king, the qwene, and my ladye the kyngs moder, came into the Whit hall, and ther had *a pley.*"—"On New-yeeres day at nyght, (ſays the ſame writer, ſpeaking of the year 1488,) ther was a goodly diſgyſyng, and alſo this Criſtmaſs ther wer *many and dyvers playes.*"[4]

A proclamation which was iſſued out in the year 1547 by King Edward the Sixth, to prohibit for about two months the exhibition of "any kind of interlude, play, dialogue, or other matter ſet forth in the form of a play, in the Engliſh tongue." deſcribes plays as a familiar entertainment, both in London, and in the country,[5] and the profeſſion of an actor as common and eſtabliſhed. "Foraſmuch as a great number of thoſe that be *common players of interludes and playes*, as well within the city of London as elſewhere within the realme, doe for the moſt part play ſuch interludes as contain matter tending to ſedition,"[6] &c. By *common* players of interludes here mentioned, I apprehend,

[4] Leland. Collect. Vol. IV. Append. pp. 235, 256, edit. 1774.

[5] Itinerant companies of actors are probably coeval with the firſt riſe of the Engliſh ſtage. King Henry the Seventh's bounty to ſome ſtrolling players has been mentioned in the preceding page. In 1556, the fourth year of Queen Mary, a remonſtrance was iſſued from the Privy-council to the Lord Preſident of the North, ſtating, "that certain lewd [wicked or diſſolute] perſons, naming themſelves to be the ſervants of Sir Francis Lake, and wearing his livery or badge on their ſleeves, have wandered about theſe north parts, and repreſenting certain plays and interludes, reflecting on the queen and her conſort, and the formalities of the maſs." Strype's *Memorials*, Vol. III. Append. III. p. 185.

[6] Fuller's *Church Hiſtory*, B. VII. p. 390.

were meant the players of the city, as contradiſtinguiſhed from the king's own ſervants. In a manuſcript which I ſaw ſome years ago, and which is now in the library of the Marquis of Lanſdown, are ſundry charges for the players belonging to King Edward the Sixth; but I have not preſerved the articles. And in the houſehold-book of Queen Mary, in the Library of the Antiquarian Society, is an entry which ſhews that ſhe alſo had a theatrical eſtabliſhment: "Eight players of interludes, each 66s. 8d.—26l. 13s. 4d."

It has already been mentioned that originally plays were performed in churches. Though Bonner biſhop of London iſſued a proclamation to the clergy of his dioceſe in 1542, prohibiting "all manner of common plays, games, or interludes, to be played, ſet forth, or declared within their churches, chapels," &c. the practice ſeems to have been continued occaſionally during the reign of Queen Elizabeth; for the author of *The Third Blaſt of Retrait from Plays and Players* complains, in 1580, that "the players are permitted to publiſh their mammetrie in every temple of God, and that throughout England;" &c. and this abuſe is taken notice of in one of the Canons of King James the Firſt, given ſoon after his acceſſion in the year 1603. Early however in Queen Elizabeth's reign the eſtabliſhed players of London began to act in temporary theatres conſtructed in the yards of inns;[7] and about the year 1570, I imagine, one or

[7] "In proceſs of time it [playing] became an occupation, and many there were that followed it for a livelihood, and, what was worſe, it became the occaſion of much ſin and evil; great multitudes of people, eſpecially youth, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, reſorting to theſe plays: and being commonly acted on ſundays and feſtivals, the churches were forſaken, and the playhouſes thronged. Great inns were uſed for this purpoſe, which had ſecret chambers

two regular playhouſes were erected.[8] Both the theatre in Blackfriars and that in Whitefriars were certainly built before 1580; for we learn from a puritanical pamphlet publiſhed in the laſt century, that ſoon after that year, " many goodly citizens and well diſpoſed gentlemen of London, conſidering that play-houſes and dicing-houſes were traps for young gentlemen, and others, and perceiving that many inconveniences and great damage would enſue upon the long ſuffering of the ſame,—acquainted ſome pious magiſtrates therewith,—who thereupon made humble ſuite to Queene Elizabeth and her privy-councell, and obtained leave from her majeſty to thruſt the players out of the citty, and to pull down all playhouſes and dicing-houſes within their liberties; which accordingly was effected, and the playhouſes in Gracious-ſtreet, Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, that nigh Paul's, that on Ludgate-hill, and the White-friers, were quite pulled down and ſuppreſſed by the care of theſe religious ſenators."[9] The theatre in Blackfriars, not being within the liberties of the city of London, eſcaped the fury of theſe fanaticks. Elizabeth, however,

and places, as well as open ſtages and galleries." Strype's Additions to *Stowe's Survey*, folio, 1720. Vol. I. p. 247.

[8] " In playes either thoſe thinges are fained that never were, as *Cupid and Pſyche*, played at Paules, [the ſchool-room of St. Paul's,] and a great many comedies more at *the Blackfriers, and in every playhouſe in London*, which for brevity ſake I over-ſkippe; or," &c. *Plays confuted in five Actions*, by Stephen Goſſon, no date, but printed about the year 1580.

[9] Richard Reulidge's *Monſter lately found out and diſcovered, or the ſcourging of Tipplers*, 1628, pp. 2, 3, 4. What he calls the theatres in Gracious-ſtreet, Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, and Ludgate-hill, were the temporary ſcaffolds erected at the Croſs-Keys Inn in Gracechurch-ſtreet, the Bull in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, and the Bell-Savage on Ludgate-hill. " That nigh Paul's," was St. Paul's ſchool-room, behind the Convocation-houſe.

though ſhe yielded in this inſtance to the frenzy of the time, was during the whole courſe of her reign a favourer of the ſtage, and a frequent attendant upon plays. So early as in the year 1569, as we learn from another puritanical writer, the children of her chapel, (who are deſcribed as "her majeſty's unfledged minions,") "flaunted it in their ſilkes and ſattens," and acted plays on profane ſubjects in the chapel-royal.[2] In 1574 ſhe granted a licence to James Burbage, probably the father of the celebrated tragedian, and four others, ſervants to the earl of Leiceſter, to exhibit all kinds of ſtage-plays, during pleaſure, in any part of England, "as well for the recreation of her loving ſubjects, as for her own ſolace and pleaſure when ſhe ſhould think good to ſee them;"[3] and in the year 1583, ſoon

[2] "Even in her majeſties chapel do theſe pretty upſtart youthes prophane the Lordes-day by the laſcivious writhing of their tender limbs, and gorgeous decking of their apparell, in feigning bawdie fables, gathered from the idolatrous heathen poets," &c. *The Children of the Chapel ſtript and whipt*, 1569, fol. xiii. b. Theſe children acted frequently in Queen's Elizabeth's reign at the theatre in Whitefriars.

[3] For the notice of this ancient theatrical licence we are indebted to Mr. Steevens. It is found among the unpubliſhed collections of Rymer, which were purchaſed by parliament, and are depoſited in the Britiſh Muſeum. Aſcough's Catalogue of Sloanian and other manuſcripts, N°. 4625.

"*Pro* Jacobo Burbage *et aliis, de licentia ſpeciali.*

"Elizabeth by the grace of God, Quene of England, &c. To all juſtices, mayors, ſheriffes, baylyffes, head conſtables, under conſtables, and all other oure officers and myniſters, gretinge.

"Know ye, that we of our eſpeciall grace, certen knowledge, and mere motion, have licenſed and auctoriſed, and by theſe preſents do lycenſe and auctoriſe our loving ſubjectes James Burbage, John Perkyn, John Lanham, William Johnſon, and Robert Willſon, ſervaunts to our truſtie and well beloved coſen and counſeyllour the Earle of Leyceſter, to uſe, exercyſe and occupie the arte and facultye of playenge commedies, tragedies, enterludes, ſtageplayes, and ſuch other like as they have alredie uſed and ſtudied,

after a furious attack had been made on the ſtage by the puritans, twelve of the principal comedians of that time, at the earneſt requeſt of Sir Francis Walſingham, were ſelected from the companies then ſubſiſting, under the licence and protection of various noblemen,[4] and were ſworn her majeſty's

or hereafter ſhall uſe and ſtudie, as well for the recreation of our lovinge ſubjectes as for our ſolace and pleaſure when we ſhall thinke good to ſee them, as alſo to uſe and occupie all ſuche inſtrumentes as they have alredie practiſed or hereafter ſhall practiſe, for and duringe our pleaſure; and the ſaid commedies, tragedies, enterludes, and ſtage-plaies, together with their muſicke, to ſhew, publiſhe, exerciſe and occupie to their beſt commoditie, during all the terme aforeſaid, as well within the liberties and freedomes of anye our cities, townes, bouroughs, &c. whatſoever, as without the ſame, thoroughoute our realme of England. Wyllinge and commaundinge yowe and every of you, as ye tender our pleaſure, to permit and ſuffer them herein withoute anye lettes, hynderaunce, or moleſtation, duringe the terme aforeſaide, any acte, ſtatute, or proclamation or commaundement heretofore made or hereafter to be made notwythſtandynge; provyded that the ſaide commedies, tragedies, enterludes and ſtage-playes be by the Maſter of our Revells for the tyme beynge before ſene and allowed; and that the ſame be not publiſhed or ſhewen in the tyme of common prayer, or in the tyme of greate and common plague in our ſaide citye of London. In wytnes wherof, &c.

"Wytnes our ſelfe at Weſtminſter the 10th daye of Maye. [1574.]

"*Per breve de privato ſigillo.*"

Mr. Steevens ſuppoſed that Mr. Dodſley was inaccurate in ſaying in the preface to his collection of Old Plays, p. 22, that "the firſt company of players we have any account of in hiſtory are the children of Paul's in 1578," four years ſubſequent to the above licence. But the figures 1578 in that page are merely an error of the preſs for 1378, as may be ſeen by turning to a former page of Mr. Dodſley's preface, to which, in p. 22, he himſelf refers.

4 The ſervants of the earls of Derby, Pembroke, and Eſſex; thoſe of the Lord Chamberlain; the ſervants of the Lord Admiral (Nottingham); thoſe of Lord Strange, Lord Suſſex, Lord Worceſter, &c.—By the ſtatute 39 Eliz. c. 4. noblemen were authoriſed to licenſe players to act both in town and country; the ſtatute declaring "that all common players of interludes *wandering abroad*, other than players of interludes belonging to anie baron of this

ſervants.[5] Eight of them had an annual ſtipend of

realme, or anie other honourable perſonage of greater degree, to be authoriſed to play under the hand and ſeale of arms of ſuch baron or perſonage, ſhall be adjudged and deemed rogues and vagabonds."

This ſtatute has been frequently miſ-ſtated, by Prynne and others, as if it declared *all* players (except noblemen's ſervants) to be rogues and vagabonds: whereas it was only made againſt *ſtrolling* players.

Long after the playhouſes called the Theatre and the Curtain had been built, and during the whole reign of Elizabeth, the companies belonging to different noblemen acted occaſionally at the Croſs-Keys in Gracechurch-ſtreet, and other inns, and alſo in the houſes of noblemen at weddings and other feſtivals.

[5] "Comedians and ſtage-players of former time were very poor and ignorant in reſpect of theſe of this time; but being now [in 1583] growne very ſkilfull and exquiſite actors for all matters, they were entertained into the ſervice of divers great lords; out of which companies there were twelve of the beſt choſen, and, at the requeſt of Sir Francis Walſingham, they were ſworne the queenes ſervants, and were allowed wages and liveries as groomes of the chamber: and untill this yeare 1583, the queene had no players. Among theſe twelve players were two rare men, viz. Thomas Wilſon, for a quicke, delicate, refined, extemporall witt, and Richard Tarleton, for a wondrous plentifull pleaſant extemporall wit, he was the wonder of his tyme.—He lieth buried in Shoreditch church." "He was ſo beloved," adds the writer in a note, "that men uſe his picture for their ſignes." Stowe's Chron. publiſhed by Howes, ſub. ann. 1583, edit. 1615.

The above paragraph was not written by Stowe, not being found in the laſt edition of his Chronicle publiſhed in his life-time, 4to. 1605: and is an interpolation by his continuator, Edmund Howes.

Richard Tarleton, as appears by the regiſter of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, was buried there, September the third, 1588.

The following extract from Strype ſhews in how low a ſtate the ſtage was at this time:

"Upon the ruin of Paris Garden, [the fall of a ſcaffold there in January 1583-4] ſuit was made to the Lords [of the Council] to baniſh plays wholly in the places near London: and letters were obtained of the Lords to baniſh them on the Sabbath days.

"Upon theſe orders againſt the players, the *Queen's players* petitioned the Lords of the Councel, That whereas the time of their ſervice drew very near, ſo that of neceſſity they muſt needs have exerciſe to enable them the better for the ſame, and alſo for their better keep and relief *in their poor livings*, the ſeaſon of the year

3l. 6s. 8d. each.[6] At that time there were eight companies of comedians, each of which performed twice or thrice a week.[7]

King James the Firſt appears to have patronized the ſtage with as much warmth as his predeceſſor. In 1599, while he was yet in Scotland, he ſolicited Queen Elizabeth (if we may believe a modern hiſtorian) to ſend a company of Engliſh comedians to Edinburgh; and very ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, granted the following licence to the company at the Globe, which is found in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

" Pro Laurentio Fletcher & Willielmo Shakespeare & aliis.

" A. D. 1603. *Pat.*

" 1. Jac. P. 2, m. 4. James by the grace of God, &c. to all juſtices, maiors, ſheriffs, conſtables, headboroughs, and other our officers and loving ſubjects, greeting. Know you that wee, of our

being paſt to play at any of the houſes without the city: Their humble petition was, that the Lords would vouchſafe to read a few articles annexed to their ſupplication, and in conſideration [that] the matter contained the very ſtay and ſtate of their living, to grant unto them confirmation of the ſame, or of as many as ſhould be to their honours good liking; and withal, their favourable letters to the Lord Maior, to permit them to exerciſe within the city; and that their letters might contain ſome orders to the Juſtices of Middleſex in their behalf." Strype's *Additions* to Stowe's *Survey*, Vol. I. p. 248.

[6] Houſehold-book of Queen Elizabeth in 1584, in the Muſeum, MSS. Sloan. 3194. The continuator of Stowe ſays, ſhe had no players before, (ſee n. 5,) but I ſuſpect that he is miſtaken, for Q. Mary, and K. Edward the Sixth, both had players on their eſtabliſhments. See p. 154.

[7] " For reckoning with the leaſte the gaine that is reaped of *eight* ordinarie places in the citie, (which I know,) by playing but once a weeke, (whereas many times they play twice, and ſometimes thrice,) it amounteth to two thouſand pounds by the year. *A Sermon preached at Paules Croſſe*, by John Stockwood, 1578.

ſpecial grace, certaine knowledge, and meer motion, have licenſed and authoriſed, and by theſe preſentes doe licence and authorize theiſe our ſervaunts, Laurence Fletcher, WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, Richard Burbage, Auguſtine Phillippes, John Hemings, Henrie Condel, William Sly, Robert Armin, Richard Cowly, and the reſt of their aſſociates, freely to uſe and exerciſe the art and faculty of playing comedies, tragedies, hiſtories, interludes, morals, paſtorals, ſtage-plaies, and ſuch like other as thei have alreadie ſtudied or hereafter ſhall uſe or ſtudie, as well for the recreation of our loving ſubjects, as for our ſolace and pleaſure when we ſhall thincke good to ſee them, during our pleaſure: and the ſaid comedies, tragedies, hiſtories, enterludes, morals, paſtorals, ſtage-plaies, and ſuch like, to ſhew and exerciſe publiquely to their beſt commoditie, when the infection of the plague ſhall decreaſe, as well within theire nowe uſuall houſe called the Globe, within our county of Surrey, as alſo within anie towne-halls or moute-halls, or other convenient places within the liberties and freedom of any other citie, univerſitie, toun, or boroughe whatſoever, within our ſaid realmes and dominions. Willing and commanding you and everie of you, as you tender our pleaſure, not onlie to permit and ſuffer them herein, without any your letts, hindrances, or moleſtations, during our pleaſure, but alſo to be aiding or aſſiſtinge to them if any wrong be to them offered, and to allow them ſuch former curteſies as hathe been given to men of their place and quallitie; and alſo what further favour you ſhall ſhew to theiſe our ſervaunts for our ſake, we ſhall take kindlie at your handes. In witneſs whereof, &c.

" Witneſs our ſelfe at Weſtminſter, the nynteenth daye of Maye.

" *Per Breve de privato ſigillo.*"

HAVING now, as conciſely as I could, traced the hiſtory of the Engliſh Stage, from its firſt rude ſtate to the period of its maturity and greateſt ſplendor, I ſhall endeavour to exhibit as accurate a delineation of the internal form and economy of our ancient theatres, as the diſtance at which we ſtand, and the obſcurity of the ſubject, will permit.

The moſt ancient Engliſh playhouſes of which I have found any account, are, the playhouſe in *Blackfriars*, that in *Whitefriars*,[s] the *Theatre*, of

[s] There was a theatre in Whitefriars, before the year 1580. See p. 155. *A Woman's a Weathercock* was performed at the private playhouſe in White-friars in 1612. This theatre was, I imagine, either in Saliſbury court or the narrow ſtreet leading into it. From an extract taken by Sir Henry Herbert from the office-book of Sir George Buc, his predeceſſor in the office of Maſter of the Revels, it appears that the theatre in Whitefriars was either rebuilt in 1613, or intended to be rebuilt. The entry is: "July 13, 1613, for a licenſe to erect a new play-houſe in the White-friers, &c. £. 20." I doubt however whether this ſcheme was then carried into execution, becauſe a new playhouſe was erected in Saliſbury-court in 1629. That theatre probably was not on the ſite of the old theatre in White-friars, for Prynne ſpeaks of it as then *newly built*, not *re-built*; and in the ſame place he mentions the *re-building* of the Fortune and Red Bull theatres.—Had the old theatre in Whitefriars been pulled down and re-built, he would have uſed the ſame language with reſpect to them all. *The Rump*, a comedy by Tatham, was acted in 1669, in the theatre in Saliſbury-court (that built in 1629). About the year 1670 a new theatre was erected there, (but whether on the ſite of that laſt mentioned I cannot aſcertain,) known by the name of the Theatre in Dorſet Gardens, to which the Duke of York's company under the conduct of Sir William D'Avenant's widow removed from Lincoln's-inn-fields in 1671. The former playhouſe in Saliſbury-court could hardly have fallen into decay in ſo ſhort a period as forty years; but I ſuppoſe was found too ſmall for the new ſcenery introduced after the Reſtoration. The Prologue to Wycherley's *Gentleman Dancing Maſter*, printed in 1673, is addreſſed

which I am unable to aſcertain the ſituation,[9] and *The Curtain*, in Shoreditch.[2] *The Theatre*, from its name, was probably the firſt building erected in or near the metropolis purpoſely for ſcenick exhibitions.

In the time of Shakſpeare there were ſeven principal theatres; three private houſes, namely, that in *Blackfriars*, that in *Whitefriars*, and *The Cockpit* or *Phœnix*,[3] in Drury-Lane; and four that were

" To the city, newly after the removal of the Duke's Company from Lincoln's-Inn fields to their new theatre *near* Saliſbury-court."

Maitland in his *Hiſtory of London*, p. 963, after mentioning Dorſet Stairs, adds, " near to which place ſtood the theatre or playhouſe, a neat building, having a curious front next the Thames, with an open place for the reception of coaches."

9 It was probably ſituated in ſome remote and privileged place, being, I ſuppoſe, hinted at in the following paſſage of a ſermon by John Stockwood, quoted below, and preached in 1578: " Have we not houſes of purpoſe built with great charges for the maintainance of them, [the players,] and that *without the liberties*, as who ſhall ſay, there, let them ſay what they will, we will play. I know not how I might, with the godly-learned eſpecially, more diſcommend the gorgeous playing-place *erected in the fields*, than to term it, as they pleaſe to have it called, a *Theatre*."

2 *The Theatre* and *The Curtain* are mentioned in " A Sermon preached at Paules-Croſs on St. Bartholomew day, being the 24th of Auguſt, 1578, by John Stockwood," and in an ancient *Treatiſe againſt Idleneſs, vaine Plaies and Interludes*, by John Northbrook, bl. l. no date, but written apparently about the year 1580. Stubbes, in his *Anatomy of Abuſes*, p. 90, edit. 1583, inveighs againſt *Theatres* and *Curtaines*, which he calls *Venus' Palaces*. Edmund Howes, the continuator of Stowe's *Chronicle*, ſays, (p. 1004,) that before the year 1570, he " neither knew, heard, nor read of any ſuch theatres, ſet ſtages, or play-houſes, as have been purpoſely built within man's memory."

3 This theatre had been originally a Cockpit. It was built or re-built not very long before the year 1617, in which year we learn from Camden's Annals of King James the Firſt, it was pulled down by the mob: " 1617, Martii 4. Theatrum ludionum *nuper* erectum in Drury-Lane à furente multitudine diruitur, et apparatus

called publick theatres; viz. *The Globe* on the Bank-ſide, *The Curtain*[4] in Shoreditch, *The Red Bull*, at the upper end of St. John's-ſtreet, and *The Fortune*[5]

dilaceratur." I ſuppoſe it was ſometimes called *The Phœnix* from that fabulous bird being its ſign. It was ſituated oppoſite the Caſtle-tavern in Drury-Lane, and was ſtanding ſome time after the Reſtoration. The players who performed at this theatre in the time of King James the Firſt, were called the Queen's Servants, till the death of Queen Anne, in 1619. After her death they were, I think, for ſome time denominated the Lady Elizabeth's Servants; and after the Marriage of King Charles the Firſt, they regained their former title of the Queen's players.

[4] See *Skialetheia*, an old collection of Epigrams, and Satires, 16mo. 1598:

" ——if my diſpoſe
" Perſuade me to a play, I'll to the Roſe,
" Or *Curtain*,——."

The *Curtain* is mentioned in Heath's Epigrams, 1610, as being then open; and *The Hector of Germany* was performed at it by a company of young men in 1615. The original ſign hung out at this playhouſe (as Mr. Steevens has obſerved) was the painting of a curtain ſtriped. The performers at this theatre were called *The Prince's Servants*, till the acceſſion of King Charles the Firſt to the crown. Soon after that period it ſeems to have been uſed only by prize-fighters.

[5] The Fortune theatre, according to Maitland, was the oldeſt theatre in London. It was built or re-built in 1599 by Edward Alleyn, the player, (who was alſo proprietor of the *Bear-Garden*, from 1594 to 1610,) and coſt 520l. as appears from the following memorandum in his hand-writing:

" What *The Fortune* coſt me, Nov. 1599.

" Firſt for the leas to Brew,	- -	240.
" Then for building the play-hous,	-	520.
" For other privat buildings of myn owne,		120.
" So that it hath coſt me for the leaſſe,		£.880."

It was a round brick building, and its dimenſions may be conjectured from the following advertiſement in *The Mercurius Politicus*, Tueſday Feb. 14, to Tueſday Feb. 21, 1661, for the preſervation of which we are indebted to Mr. Steevens: " The Fortune playhouſe ſituate between Whitecroſs-ſtreet and Golding-lane, in the pariſh of Saint Giles, Cripplegate, with the ground thereto belonging, is to be lett to be built upon; where twenty-three tene-

in Whitecroſs-ſtreet. The laſt two were chiefly frequented by citizens.[6] There were however, but ſix companies of comedians; for the playhouſe in Blackfriars, and the Globe, belonged to the ſame troop. Beſide theſe ſeven theatres, there were for

ments may be erected, with gardens; and a ſtreet may be cut through for the better accommodation of the buildings."

The Fortune is ſpoken of as a playhouſe of conſiderable ſize, in the prologue to *The Roaring Girl*, a comedy which was acted there, and printed in 1611:

" A roaring girl, whoſe notes till now ne'er were,
" Shall fill with laughter *our vaſt theatre*."

See alſo the concluding lines of Shirley's prologue to *The Doubtful Heir*, quoted below.

Howes in his continuation of Stowe's *Chronicle*, p. 1004, edit. 1631, ſays, it was burnt down in or about the year 1617: " About foure yeares after, [i. e. after the burning of the Globe] a fayre ſtrong new-built play-houſe near Golden-lane, called the Fortune, by negligence of a candle was cleane burnt to the ground, but ſhortly after re-built far fairer." He is, however, miſtaken as to the time, for it was burnt down in December, 1621, as I learn from a letter in Dr. Birch's collection in the Muſeum, from Mr. John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated Dec. 15, 1621, in which is the following paragraph: " On ſunday night here was a great fire at *The Fortune*, in Golding-lane, the firſt play-houſe in this town. It was quite burnt downe in two hours, and all their apparell and play-books loſt, whereby thoſe poore companions are quite undone. There were two other houſes on fire, but with great labour and danger were ſaved." MSS. Birch, 4173. It does not appear whether this writer, by " the *firſt* play-houſe in this town," means the firſt in point of ſize or dignity, or the oldeſt. I doubt much of its being the oldeſt, though that is the obvious meaning of the words, and though Maitland has aſſerted it: becauſe I have not found it mentioned in any of the tracts relative to the ſtage, written in the middle of Elizabeth's reign.

Prynne ſays that the Fortune on its re-building was enlarged. Epiſtle Dedicat. to *Hiſtriomaſtix*, 4to. 1633.

Before this theatre there was either a picture or ſtatue of Fortune. See *The Engliſh Traveller*, by Heywood, 1633:

" ——— I'le rather ſtand here,
" Like a ſtatue in the fore-front of your houſe
" For ever; like the picture of dame Fortune
" Before the Fortune play-houſe."

[6] Wright's *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, 8vo. 1699, p. 5.

ſome time on the Bankſide three other publick theatres; *The Swan*, *The Roſe*,[7] and *The Hope*:[8] but *The Hope* being uſed chiefly as a bear-garden, and *The Swan* and *The Roſe* having fallen to decay early in King James's reign, they ought not to be enumerated with the other regular theatres.

All the eſtabliſhed theatres that were open in 1598, were either without the city of London or its liberties.[9]

It appears from the office-book[1] of Sir Henry

[7] The Swan and the Roſe are mentioned by Taylor the water-poet, but in 1613 they were ſhut up. See his Works, p. 171, edit. 1633. The latter had been built before 1598. See p. 163, n. 4. After the year 1620, as appears from Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, they were uſed occaſionally for the exhibition of prize-fighters.

[8] Ben Jonſon's *Bartholomew-Fair* was performed at this theatre in 1614. He does not give a very favourable deſcription of it:—"Though the fair be not kept in the ſame region that ſome here perhaps would have it, yet think that the author hath therein obſerved a ſpecial decorum, the place being as dirty as *Smithfield*, and as ſtinking every whit."—*Induction* to *Bartholomew Fair*.

It appears from an old pamphlet entitled *Holland's Leaguer*, printed in quarto in 1632, that *The Hope* was occaſionally uſed as a bear-garden, and that *The Swan* was then fallen into decay.

[9] Sunt porro Londini, *extra urbem*, theatra aliquot, in quibus hiſtriones Angli comœdias et tragœdias ſingulis fere diebus, in magna hominum frequentia agunt; quas variis etiam ſaltationibus, ſuaviſſima adhibita muſica, magno cum populi applauſu finiri ſolent." Hentzneri *Itinerarium*, 4to. 1598, p. 132.

[1] For the uſe of this very curious and valuable manuſcript I am indebted to Francis Ingram, of Ribbisford near Bewdley in Worceſterſhire, Eſq. Deputy Remembrancer in the Court of Exchequer. It has lately been found in the ſame old cheſt, which contained the manuſcript Memoirs of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, from which Mr. Walpole about twenty years ago printed the Life of that nobleman, who was elder brother to Sir Henry Herbert.

The firſt Maſter of the Revels in the reign of Queen Elizabeth was Thomas Benger, whoſe patent paſſed the great ſeal Jan. 18, 1560-1. It is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*. His ſucceſſor, Edmund Tilney, obtained a grant of this office (the reverſion of which John

Herbert, Maſter of the Revels to King James the Firſt, and the two ſucceeding kings, that very ſoon

Lily, the dramatick poet, had long in vain ſolicited,) on the 24th of July, 1579, (as appears from a book of patents in the Pells-office,) and continued in poſſeſſion of it during the remainder of her reign, and till October 1610, about which time he died. This office for near fifty years appears to have been conſidered as ſo deſirable a place, that it was conſtantly ſought for during the life of the poſſeſſor, and granted in reverſion. King James on the 23d of June, 1603, made a reverſionary grant of it to Sir George Buc, (then George Buc, Eſq.) to take place whenever it ſhould become vacant by the death, reſignation, forfeiture, or ſurrender, of the then poſſeſſor Edmund Tilney; who, if I miſtake not, was Sir George Buc's maternal uncle. Mr. Tilney, as I have already mentioned, did not die till the end of the year 1610, and ſhould ſeem to have executed the duties of the office to the laſt; for his executor, as I learn from one of the *Exitus* books in the Exchequer, received in the year 1611, 120l. 18s. 3d. due to Mr. Tilney on the laſt day of the preceding October, for one year's expences of office. In the edition of Camden's *Britannia*, printed in folio in 1607, Sir George Buc is called Maſter of the Revels, I ſuppoſe from his having obtained the reverſion of that place: for from what I have already ſtated he could not have been then in poſſeſſion of it. April 3, 1612, Sir John Aſtley, one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber, obtained a reverſionary grant of this office, to take place on the death, &c. of Sir George Buc, as Ben Jonſon, the poet, obtained a ſimilar grant, October 5, 1621, to take place on the death, &c. of Sir John Aſtley and Sir George Buc.

Sir George Buc came into poſſeſſion of the office about November 1610, and held it till the end of the year 1621, when, in conſequence of ill health, he reſigned it to King James, and Sir John Aſtley ſucceeded him. How Sir Henry Herbert got poſſeſſion of this office originally I am unable to aſcertain; but I imagine Sir John Aſtley for a valuable conſideration appointed him his *deputy*, in Auguſt 1623, at which time, to uſe Sir Henry's own words, he "was *received* as Maſter of the Revels by his Majeſty at Wilton;" and in the warrant-books of Philip Earl of Pembroke, now in the Lord Chamberlain's office, containing warrants, orders, &c. between the years 1625 and 1642, he is conſtantly ſtyled Maſter of the Revels. If Sir John Aſtley had formally reſigned or ſurrendered his office, Ben Jonſon, in conſequence of the grant obtained in the year 1621, muſt have ſucceeded to it; but he never derived any emolument from that grant, for Sir John Aſtley, as I find from the probate of his will, in the prerogative office, (in which it is obſervable that

after our poet's death, in the year 1622, there were but five principal companies of comedians in Lon-

he calls himſelf *Maſter of the Revels*, though both the duties and emoluments of the office were then exerciſed and enjoyed by another,) did not die till January 1639-40, above two years after the poet's death. To make his title ſtill more ſecure, Sir Henry Herbert, in conjunction with Simon Thelwall, Eſq. Auguſt 22, 1629, obtained a reverſionary grant of this much ſought-for office, to take place on the death, ſurrender, &c. of Sir John Aſtley and Benjamin Jonſon. Sir Henry held the office for fifty years, though during the uſurpation he could not exerciſe the functions nor enjoy the emoluments of it.

Sir George Buc wrote an expreſs treatiſe as he has himſelf told us, on the ſtage and on revels, which is unfortunately loſt. Previous to the exhibition of every play, it was licenſed by the Maſter of the Revels, who had an eſtabliſhed fee on the occaſion. If ever therefore the Office-books of Mr. Tilney and Sir George Buc ſhall be found, they will aſcertain preciſely the chronological order of all the plays written by Shakſpeare; and either confirm or overturn a ſyſtem in forming which I have taken ſome pains. Having however found many of my conjectures confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's manuſcript, I have no reaſon to augur ill concerning the event, ſhould the regiſters of his predeceſſors ever be diſcovered.

The regular ſalary of this office was but ten pounds a year; but, by fees and other perquiſites, the emoluments of Sir George Buc in the firſt year he came into poſſeſſion of it, amounted to near 100l. The office afterwards became much more valuable.

Having mentioned this gentleman, I take this opportunity of correcting an error into which Anthony Wood has fallen, and which has been implicitly adopted in the new edition of *Biographia Britannica*, and many other books. The error I allude to, is, that this Sir George Buc, who was knighted at Whitehall by King James the day before his coronation, July 23, 1603, was the author of the celebrated *Hiſtory of King Richard the Third*; which was written above twenty years after his death, by George Buck, *Eſq.* who was, I ſuppoſe, his ſon. The preciſe time of the father's death, I have not been able to aſcertain, there being no will of his in the prerogative office; but I have reaſon to believe that it happened ſoon after the year 1622. He certainly died before Auguſt 1629.

The Office-book of Sir Henry Herbert contains an account of almoſt every piece exhibited at any of the theatres from Auguſt 1623, to the commencement of the rebellion in 1641, and many curious anecdotes relative to them, ſome of which I ſhall preſently have occaſion to quote. This valuable manuſcript having lain for a

don; the King's Servants, who performed at the Globe and in Blackfriars; the Prince's Servants, who performed then at the Curtain; the Palſgrave's Servants,[3] who had poſſeſſion of the Fortune; the players of the Revels, who acted at the Red Bull;[4] and the Lady Elizabeth's Servants, or, as they are ſometimes denominated, the Queen of Bohemia's players, who performed at the Cockpit in Drury-Lane.[5]

When Prynne publiſhed his *Hiſtriomaſtix*, (1633,) there were ſix playhouſes open; the theatre in Blackfriars; the Globe; the Fortune; the Red Bull; the Cockpit or Phœnix, and a theatre in Saliſbury-court, White-friars.[6]

conſiderable time in a damp place, is unfortunately damaged, and in a very mouldering condition, however, no material part of it appears to have periſhed.

I cannot conclude this long note without acknowledging the obliging attention of W. E. Roberts, Eſq. Deputy Clerk of the Pells, which facilitated every ſearch I wiſhed to make in his office, and enabled me to aſcertain ſome of the facts above ſtated.

[3] "1622. The Palſgrave's ſervants. Frank Grace, Charles Maſſy, Richard Price, Richard Fowler, —— Kane, Curtys Grevill." MS. Herbert. Three other names have periſhed. Of theſe one muſt have been that of Richard Gunnel, who was then the manager of the Fortune theatre; and another, that of William Cartwright, who was of the ſame company.

[4] "The names of the chiefe players at the Red Bull, called the players of the Revells. Robert Lee, Richard Perkings, Ellis Woorth, Thomas Ballſe, John Blany, John Cumber, William Robbins." *Ibidem*.

[5] "The cheiſe of them at the Phœnix. Chriſtopher Beeſton, Joſeph More, Eliard Swanſon, Andrew Cane, Curtis Grevill, William Shurlock, Anthony Turner." *Ibidem*. Eliard Swanſton in 1624 joined the company at Blackfriars.

That part of the leaf which contained the liſt of the king's ſervants, and the performers at the Curtain, is mouldered away.

[6] It has been repeated again and again that Prynne enumerates *ſeventeen* playhouſes in London in his time; but this is a miſtake; he expreſsly ſays that there were only ſix, (ſee his Epiſtle Dedica-

All the plays of Shakſpeare appear to have been performed either at *The Globe*, or the theatre in *Blackfriars*. I ſhall therefore confine my inquiries principally to thoſe two. They belonged, as I have already obſerved, to the ſame company of comedians, namely his majeſty's ſervants, which title they obtained after a licence had been granted to them by King James in 1603; having before that time, I apprehend, been called the ſervants of the Lord Chamberlain. Like the other ſervants of the houſehold, the performers enrolled into this company were ſworn into office, and each of them was allowed four yards of baſtard ſcarlet for a cloak, and a quarter of a yard of velvet for the cape, every ſecond year.[7]

The theatre in Blackfriars was ſituated near the

tory,) and the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert confirms his aſſertion.

Mr. Dodſley and others have fallen into this miſtake of ſuppoſing there were ſeventeen play-houſes open at one time in London; into which they were led by the continuator of Stowe, who mentions that between 1570 and 1630 ſeventeen playhouſes were built, in which number however he includes five inns turned into playhouſes, and St. Paul's ſinging-ſchool. He does not ſay that they were all open at the ſame time.—A late writer carries the matter ſtill further, and aſſerts that it appears from Rymer's MSS. in the Muſeum that there were *twenty-three* playhouſes at one time open in London!

7 "Theſe are to ſignify unto your lordſhip his majeſties pleaſure, that you cauſe to be delivered unto his majeſties players whoſe names follow, viz. John Hemmings, John Lowen, Joſeph Taylor, Richard Robinſon, John Shank, Robert Benfield, Richard Sharp, Eliard Swanſon, Thomas Pollard, Anthony Smith, Thomas Hobbes, William Pen, George Vernon, and James Horne, to each of them the ſeveral allowance of foure yardes of baſtarde ſcarlet for a cloake, and a quarter of a yarde of crimſon velvet for the capes, it being the uſual allowance graunted unto them by his majeſty every ſecond yeare, and due at Eaſter laſt paſt. For the doing whereof theis ſhall be your warrant. May 6th, 1629." *MS. in the Lord Chamberlain's Office.*

preſent Apothecaries-hall, in the neighbourhood of which there is yet *Playhouſe-yard*, not far from which the theatre probably ſtood. It was, as has been mentioned, a private houſe; but what were the diſtinguiſhing marks of a private playhouſe, it is not eaſy to aſcertain. We know only that it was ſmaller[8] than thoſe which were called publick theatres; and that in the private theatres plays were uſually preſented by candle-light.[9]

In this theatre, which was a very ancient one, the Children of the Revels occaſionally performed.[a]

[8] Wright, in his *Hiſt. Hiſtrion.* informs us, that the theatre in *Blackfriars*, the *Cockpit*, and that in *Saliſbury-Court*, were exactly alike both in form and ſize. The ſmallneſs of the latter is aſcertained by theſe lines in an epilogue to *Tottenham Court*, a comedy by Nabbes, which was acted there:

"When others' fill'd rooms with neglect diſdain ye,
"My little houſe with thanks ſhall entertain ye."

[9] "All the city looked like *a private play-houſe*, when the *windows are clapt downe*, as if ſome *nocturnal* and diſmal tragedy were preſently to be acted." Decker's *Seven Deadly Sinnes of London*, 1606. See alſo *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica.*

[a] Many pieces were performed by them in this theatre before 1580. Sometimes they performed entire pieces; at others, they repreſented ſuch young characters as are found in many of our poet's plays. Thus we find Nat. Field, John Underwood, and William Oſtler, among the children of the Revels, who repreſented ſeveral of Ben Jonſon's comedies at the Blackfriars in the earlier part of King James's reign, and alſo in the liſt of the actors of our author's plays prefixed to the firſt folio, publiſhed in 1623. They had then become men.

Lily's *Campaſpe* was acted at the theatre in Blackfriars in 1584, and *The Caſe is Altered*, by Ben Jonſon, was printed in 1609, as acted by *the children of Black-friers*. Some of the children of the Revels alſo acted occaſionally at the theatre in Whitefriars; for we find *A Woman's a Weathercock* performed by them at that theatre in 1612. Probably a certain number of theſe children were appropriated to each of theſe theatres, and inſtructed by the elder performers in their art; by which means this young troop became a promptuary of actors. In a manuſcript in the Inner Temple, No. 515, Vol. VII. entitled "A booke conteyning ſeveral par-

It is ſaid in Camden's Annals of the reign of King James the Firſt, that the theatre in Blackfriars fell down in the year 1623, and that above eighty perſons were killed by the accident; but he was miſinformed.[3] The room which gave way was in

ticulars with relation to the kings ſervants, petitions, warrants, bills, &c. and ſuppoſed to be a copy of ſome part of the Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold's book in or about the year 1622," I find "A warrant to the ſignet-office (dated July 8th, 1622,) for a privie ſeale for his majeſties licenſing of Robert Lee, Richard Perkins, Ellis Woorth, Thomas Baſſe, John Blany, John Cumber, and William Robbins, late comedians of Queen Anne deceaſed, *to bring up children in the qualitie and exerciſe of playing* comedies, hiſtories, interludes, morals, paſtorals, ſtage-plaies, and ſuch like, as well for the ſollace and pleaſure of his majeſtie, as for the honeſt recreation of ſuch as ſhall deſire to ſee them; to be called by the name of *The Children of the Revels*;—and to be drawne in ſuch a manner and forme *as hath been uſed in other lycenſes of that kinde.*" Theſe very perſons, we have ſeen, were the company of the Revels in 1622, and were then become men.

[3] "1623. Ex occaſu domûs ſcenicæ apud Black-friers Londini, 81 perſonæ ſpectabiles necantur." Camdeni *Annales ab anno* 1603 *ad annum* 1623, 4to. 1691, p. 82. That this writer was miſinformed, appears from an old tract, printed in the ſame year in which the accident happened, entitled, *A Word of Comfort, or a diſcourſe concerning the late lamentable accident of the fall of* a Room at a Catholick ſermon *in the Black-friers, London, whereby about* four-ſcore *perſons were oppreſſed*, 4to. 1623.

See alſo verſes prefixed to a play called *The Queen*, publiſhed by Alexander Goughe, (probably the ſon of Robert Goughe, one of the actors in Shakſpeare's company,) in 1653:

"——————we dare not ſay—
"——that Blackfriers we heare, which in this age
"Fell, when it was a church, *not when a ſtage*;
"Or that the puritans that once dwelt there,
"Prayed and thriv'd, though the play-houſe were ſo near."

Camden had a paralytick ſtroke on the 18th of Auguſt 1623, and died on the 9th of November following. The above-mentioned accident happened on the 24th of October; which accounts for his inaccuracy. The room which fell, was an upper room in Hunſdon-Houſe, in which the French Ambaſſador then dwelt. See Stowe's Chron. p. 1035, edit. 1631.

a private houſe, and appropriated to the ſervice of religion.

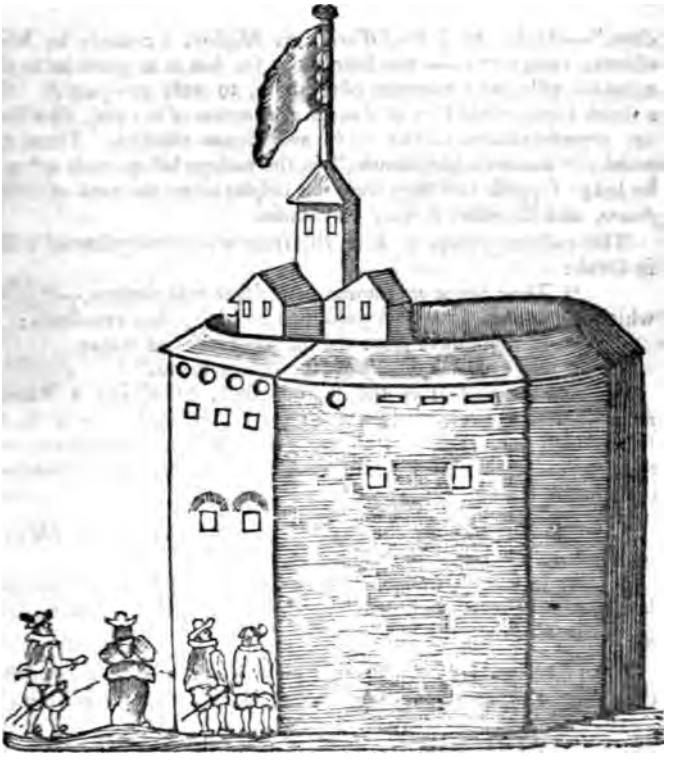
I am unable to aſcertain at what time the Globe theatre was built. Hentzner has alluded to it as exiſting in 1598, though he does not expreſsly mention it.[4] I believe it was not built long before the year 1596.[5] It was ſituated on the Bankſide, (the ſouthern ſide of the river Thames,) nearly oppoſite to Friday-ſtreet, Cheapſide. It was an hexagonal wooden building, partly open to the weather, and partly thatched.[6] When Hentzner wrote, all the other theatres as well as this were compoſed of wood.

4 "Non longe ab *uno* horum theatrorum, quæ *omnia lignea ſunt*, ad Thameſin navis eſt regia, quæ duo egregia habet conclavia," &c. *Itin.* p. 132. By *navis regia* he means the royal barge called the *Gallyfoiſt*. See the South View of London, as it appeared in 1599.

5 See "The Suit of the Watermen againſt the Players," in the Works of Taylor the Water-poet, p. 171.

6 In the long Antwerp View of London in the Pepyſian Library at Cambridge, is a repreſentation of the Globe theatre, from which a drawing was made by the Rev. Mr. Henley, and tranſmitted to Mr. Steevens. From that drawing this cut was made.

The Globe was a publick theatre, and of conſiderable ſize,[7] and there they always acted by daylight.[8] On the roof of this and the other publick theatres a pole was erected, to which a flag was affixed.[9] Theſe flags were probably diſplayed only



[7] The Globe, we learn from Wright's *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, was nearly of the ſame ſize as the *Fortune*, which has been already deſcribed.

[8] *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, 8vo. 1699, p. 7.

[9] So, in *The Curtain-Drawer of the World*, 1612: "Each playhouſe advanceth his *flagge* in the aire, whither quickly at the waving thereof are ſummoned whole troops of men, women, and chil-

during the hours of exhibition; and it ſhould ſeem from one of the old comedies that they were taken down in Lent, in which time, during the early part of King James's reign, plays were not allowed to be repreſented,[2] though at a ſubſequent period this prohibition was diſpenſed with.[3]

dren."—Again, in *A Mad World, my Maſters*, a comedy by Middleton, 1608: "——the hair about the hat is as good as a *flag* upon the pole, at a common play-houſe, to waft company." See a *South View of the City of London as it appeared in* 1599, in which are repreſentations of the *Globe* and *Swan* theatres. From the words, "a *common* play-houſe," in the paſſage laſt quoted, we may be led to ſuppoſe that flags were not diſplayed on the roof of *Blackfriars*, and the other *private* playhouſes.

This cuſtom perhaps took its riſe from a miſconception of a line in Ovid:

"Tunc neque marmoreo pendebant vela theatro,—"

which Heywood, in a tract publiſhed in 1612, thus tranſlates:

"In thoſe days from the marble houſe did waive
"No ſail, no *ſilken flag*, or enſign brave."

"From the roof (ſays the ſame author, deſcribing a Roman amphitheatre,) grew a loover or turret, of exceeding altitude, from which *an enſign of ſilk waved continually*;—pendebant vela theatro."—The miſinterpretation might, however, have ariſen from the Engliſh cuſtom.

2 "'Tis *Lent* in your cheeks;—*the flag is down.*" *A mad World, my Maſters*, a comedy by Middleton, 1608.

Again, in Earle's *Characters*, 7th edit. 1638; "Shrove-tueſday hee [*a player*] feares as much as the bawdes, and *Lent* is more dangerous to him than the butchers."

3 "[Received] of the King's players for a *lenten diſpenſation*, the other companys promiſing to doe as muche, 44s. March 23, 1616.

"Of John Hemminges, in the name of the four companys, for toleration in the holydayes, 44s. January 29, 1618."

Extracts from the office-book of Sir George Buc. MSS. Herbert.

Theſe diſpenſations did not extend to the ſermon-days, as they were then called; that is, Wedneſday and Friday in each week.

After Sir Henry Herbert became poſſeſſed of the office of Maſter of the Revels, fees for permiſſion to perform in Lent appear to have been conſtantly paid by each of the theatres. The managers however did not always perform plays during that ſeaſon. Some of

I formerly conjectured that *The Globe*, though hexagonal at the outſide, was perhaps a rotunda within, and that it might have derived its name from its circular form.[4] But, though the part appropriated to the audience was probably circular, I now believe that the houſe was denominated only from its ſign; which was a figure of Hercules ſup-

the theatres, particularly the Red-Bull and the Fortune, were then let to prize-fighters, tumblers, and rope-dancers, who ſometimes added a Maſque to the other exhibitions. Theſe facts are aſcertained by the following entries:

"1622. 21 Martii. For a priſe at the Red-Bull, for the howſe; the fencers would give nothing. 10s." MSS. Aſtley.

"From Mr. Gunnel, [Manager of the Fortune,] in the name of the dancers of the ropes for Lent, this 15 March, 1624. £1. 0. 0.

"From Mr. Gunnel, to allowe of a *Maſque* for the dancers of the ropes, this 19 March, 1624. £2. 0. 0."

We ſee here, by the way, that *Microcoſmus*, which was exhibited in 1637, (was not as Dr. Burney ſuppoſes in his ingenious *Hiſtory of Muſick*, Vol. III. p. 385,) the firſt maſque exhibited on the publick ſtage.

"From Mr. Blagrave, in the name of the Cockpit company, for this Lent, this 30th March, 1624. £2. 0. 0."

"March 20, 1626. From Mr. Hemminges, for this Lent allowanſe, £2. 0. 0." MSS. Herbert.

Prynne takes notice of this relaxation in his *Hiſtriomaſtix*, 4to. 1633: "There are none ſo addicted to ſtage-playes, but when they go unto places where they cannot have them, or when as they are ſuppreſſed by publike authority, (as in times of peſtilence, and in *Lent, till now of late*,) can well ſubſiſt without them." P. 784.

[4] "After theſe" (ſays Heywood, ſpeaking of the buildings at Rome, appropriated to ſcenick exhibitions,) "they compoſed others, but differing in form from the theatre or amphitheatre, and every ſuch was called *circus*; the frame *globe*-like, and merely *round*." *Apology for Actors*, 1612. See alſo our author's prologue to *King Henry V*:

"——— or may we cram
"Within this wooden *O*," &c.

But as we find in the prologue to Marſton's *Antonio's Revenge*, which was acted by the *Children of Paul's* in 1602:

"If any ſpirit breathes within this *round*,——"

no inference reſpecting the denomination of *the Globe* can be drawn from this expreſſion.

porting the Globe, under which was written, *Totus mundus agit hiſtrionem.*[5] This theatre was burnt down on the 29th of June, 1613;[6] but it was re-

[5] Stowe informs us, that "the allowed Stewhouſes [antecedent to the year 1545] had ſignes on their frontes towards the Thames, not hanged out, but painted on the walles; as a Boares head, The Croſs Keyes, The Gunne, The Caſtle, The Crane, The Cardinals Hat, The Bell, The Swanne," &c. *Survey of London*, 4to. 1603, p. 409. The houſes which continued to carry on the ſame trade after the ancient and privileged edifices had been put down, probably were diſtinguiſhed by the old ſigns; and the ſign of the Globe, which theatre was in their neighbourhood, was perhaps, in imitation of them, painted on its wall.

[6] The following account of this accident is given by Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter dated July 2, 1613, *Reliq. Wotton*, p. 425, edit. 1685: "Now to let matters of ſtate ſleep, I will entertain you at the preſent with what hath happened this week at the Banks ſide. The Kings Players had a new play called *All is true*, repreſenting ſome principal pieces of the reign of Henry the Eighth, which was ſet forth with many extraordinary circumſtances of pomp and majeſty, even to the matting of the ſtage; the knights of the order with their Georges and Garter, the guards with their embroidered coats, and the like: ſufficient in truth within a while to make greatneſs very familiar, if not ridiculous. Now King Henry making a Maſque at the Cardinal Wolſeys houſe, and certain cannons being ſhot off at his entry, ſome of the paper or other ſtuff, wherwith one of them was ſtopped, did light on the thatch, where being thought at firſt but an idle ſmoak, and their eyes more attentive to the ſhow, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, conſuming within leſs than an hour the whole houſe to the very ground. This was the fatal period of that virtuous fabrick, wherein yet nothing did periſh but *wood* and *ſtraw*, and a few forſaken cloaks."

From a letter of Mr. John Chamberlaine's to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated July 8, 1613, in which this accident is likewiſe mentioned, we learn that this theatre had only two doors. "The burning of the Globe or playhouſe on the Bankſide on St. Peter's day cannot eſcape you; which fell out by a peal of chambers, (that I know not upon what occaſion were to be uſed in the play,) the tampin or ſtopple of one of them lighting in the thatch that covered the houſe, burn'd it down to the ground in leſs than two hours, with a dwelling-houſe adjoyning; and it was a great marvaile and fair grace of God that the people had ſo little harm,

built in the following year, and decorated with more ornament than had been originally beſtowed upon it.*

The exhibitions at *the Globe* ſeem to have been calculated chiefly for the lower claſs of people;[7]

having but *two narrow doors* to get out." Winwood's *Memorials*, Vol. III. p. 469. Not a ſingle life was loſt.

In 1613 was entered on the Stationers' books *A doleful ballad of the general conflagration of the famous theatre on the Bankſide, called the Globe.* I have never met with it.

* See Taylor's *Skuller*, p. 31, Ep. 22:

" As gold is better that's in fier try'd,
" So is the Bank-ſide *Globe*, that late was burn'd;
" For where before it had a thatched hide,
" Now to a ſtately theator 'tis turn'd."

See alſo Stowe's *Chronicle*, p. 1003:

[7] *The Globe* theatre, being contiguous to the *Bear-Garden*, when the ſports of the latter were over, the ſame ſpectators probably reſorted to the former. The audiences at *the Bull* and *the Fortune* were, it may be preſumed, of a claſs ſtill inferior to that of *the Globe*. The latter, being the theatre of his majeſty's ſervants, muſt neceſſarily have had a ſuperior degree of reputation. At all of them, however, it appears, that noiſe and ſhew were what chiefly attracted an audience. Our author ſpeaks in *Hamlet* of " *berattling the common* [i. e. the *publick*] theatres. See alſo *A Prologue* ſpoken by a company of players who had ſeceded from *the Fortune*, p. 188, n. 4; from which we learn that the performers at that theatre, " *to ſplit the ears of groundlings*," uſed " *to tear a paſſion to tatters.*"

In ſome verſes addreſſed by Thomas Carew to Mr. [afterwards Sir William] D'Avenant, " Upon his excellent Play, *The Juſt Italian*," 1630, I find a ſimilar character of the *Bull* theatre:

" Now noiſe prevails; and he is tax'd for drowth
" Of wit, that with the cry ſpends not his mouth.—
" ——thy ſtrong fancies, raptures of the brain
" Dreſs'd in poetick flames, they entertain
" As a bold impious reach; for they'll ſtill flight
" All that exceeds RED BULL and *Cockpit* flight.
" Theſe are the men in crowded heaps that throng
" To that adulterate ſtage, where not a tongue
" Of the untun'd kennel can a line repeat
" Of ſerious ſenſe; but like lips meet like meat:

thoſe at *Blackfriars*, for a more ſelect and judicious audience. This appears from the following prologue to Shirley's *Doubtful Heir*, which is inſerted among his poems, printed in 1646, with this title:

" Prologue at *the* GLOBE, to his Comedy called *The Doubtful Heir*, which ſhould have been preſented at *the Blackfriars*.[8]

" Gentlemen, I am only ſent to ſay,
" Our author did not calculate his play
" For *this* meridian. The *Bankſide*, he knows,
" Is far more ſkilful at the ebbs and flows
" Of water than of wit; he did not mean
" For the elevation of your poles, this ſcene.
" No ſhews,—no dance,—and what you moſt delight in,
" Grave underſtanders,[9] here's no target-fighting
" Upon the ſtage; all work for cutlers barr'd;
" No bawdry, nor no ballads;—this goes hard:
" But language clean, and, what affects you not,
" Without impoſſibilities the plot;

" Whilſt the true brood of actors, that alone
" Keep natural unſtrain'd action in her throne,
" Behold their benches bare, though they rehearſe
" The terſer Beaumont's or great Jonſon's verſe."

The *true brood of actors* were the performers at *Blackfriars*, where *The Juſt Italian* was acted.

See alſo *The Careleſs Shepherdeſs*, repreſented at Saliſbury-court; 4to. 1656:

" And I will haſten to the money-box,
" And take my *ſhilling* out again;—
" I'll go to THE BULL, or FORTUNE, and there ſee
" A play for *two-pence*, and a jig to boot."

[8] In the printed play theſe words are omitted; the want of which renders the prologue perfectly unintelligible. The comedy was performed for the firſt time at the Globe, June 1, 1640.

[9] The common people ſtood in *the Globe* theatre, in that part of the houſe which we now call the pit; which being lower than the ſtage, Shirley calls them *underſtanders*. In the private playhouſes, it appears from the ſubſequent lines, there were ſeats in the pit.

Ben Jonſon has the ſame quibble: " —the *underſtanding* gentlemen of the *ground* here."

" No clown, no ſquibs, no devil in't.—Oh now,
" You ſquirrels that want nuts, what will you do?
" Pray do not crack the benches, and we may
" Hereafter fit your palates with a play.
" But you that can contract yourſelves, and ſit,
" As you were now in the *Blackfriars* pit,
" And will not deaf us with lewd noiſe and tongues,
" Becauſe we have no heart to break our lungs,
" Will pardon our *vaſt* ſtage, and not diſgrace
" This play, meant for your perſons, not the place."

The ſuperior diſcernment of the *Blackfriars* audience may be likewiſe collected from a paſſage in the preface prefixed by Heminge and Condell to the firſt folio edition of our author's works: " And though you be *a magiſtrate of wit*, and ſit on the ſtage at *Blackfriers*, or the Cockpit, to arraigne plays dailie, know theſe plays have had their trial already, and ſtood out all appeales."

A writer already quoted[2] informs us that one of theſe theatres was a winter, and the other a ſummer, houſe.[3] As *the Globe* was partly expoſed to the weather, and they acted there uſually by day-light, it appeared to me probable (when this Eſſay was originally publiſhed) that this was the ſummer theatre; and I have lately found my conjecture confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript. The king's company uſually began to play at the Globe in the month of May. The exhibitions here ſeem to have been more frequent[4] than at *Blackfriars*,

[2] Wright.

[3] His account is confirmed by a paſſage in an old pamphlet, entitled *Holland's Leaguer*, 4to. 1632: " She was moſt taken with the report of three famous amphytheators, which ſtood ſo neere ſituated, that her eye might take view of them from her loweſt turret. One was *the Continent of the World*, becauſe *half the yeere* a world of beauties and brave ſpirits reſorted unto it. The other was a building of excellent *Hope*; and though wild beaſts and gladiators did moſt poſſeſſe it," &c.

[4] *King Lear*, in the title-page of the original edition, printed in

till the year 1604 or 1605, when the *Bankſide* appears to have become leſs faſhionable, and leſs frequented than it formerly had been.[5]

Many of our ancient dramatick pieces (as has been already obſerved) were performed in the yards of carriers' inns, in which, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the comedians, who then firſt united themſelves in companies, erected an occaſional ſtage.[6] The form of theſe temporary playhouſes ſeems to be preſerved in our modern theatre. The galleries, in both, are ranged over each other on three ſides of the building. The ſmall rooms under the loweſt of theſe galleries anſwer to our preſent boxes; and it is obſervable that theſe, even in theatres which were built in a ſubſequent period expreſsly for dramatick exhibitions,

1608, is ſaid to have been performed by his majeſties ſervants, playing *uſually* at *the Globe* on the Bankſide.—See alſo the licence granted by King James in 1603: " ——and the ſaid comedies, tragedies, &c.—to ſhew—as well within their now *uſual* houſe called *the Globe*,—" No mention is made of their theatre in *Blackfriars*; from which circumſtance I ſuſpect that antecedent to that time our poet's company played *only* at the Globe, and purchaſed the Blackfriars theatre afterwards. In the licence granted by King Charles the Firſt to John Heminge and his aſſociates in the year 1625, they are authorized to exhibit plays, &c. " as well within theſe *two* their moſt uſual houſes called the Globe in the county of Surrey, and their private houſes ſituate within the precinct of the *Blackfryers*,—as alſo," &c. Had they poſſeſſed the Blackfriars theatre in 1603, it would probably have been mentioned in the former licence. In the following year they certainly had poſſeſſion of it, for Marſton's *Malecontent* was acted there in 1604.

[5] See *The Works* of Taylor the Water-poet, p. 171, edit. 1633.

[6] Fleckno, in his *Short Diſcourſe of the Engliſh Stage*, publiſhed in 1664, ſays, ſome remains of theſe ancient theatres were at that day to be ſeen in the inn-yards of the *Croſs-keys* in Gracechurch-ſtreet, and *the Bull* in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet.

In the ſeventeen playhouſes erected between the years 1570 and 1630, the continuator of Stowe's *Chronicle* reckons " five *inns* or common *oſteries* turned into play-houſes."

ſtill retained their old name, and are frequently called *rooms*,[7] by our ancient writers. The yard bears a ſufficient reſemblance to the pit, as at preſent in uſe. We may ſuppoſe the ſtage to have been raiſed in this area, on the fourth ſide, with its back to the gateway of the inn, at which the money for admiſſion was taken. Thus, in fine weather, a playhouſe not incommodious might have been formed.

Hence, in the middle of *the Globe*, and I ſuppoſe of the other *publick* theatres, in the time of Shakſpeare, there was an open yard or area,[8] where the common people ſtood to ſee the exhibition; from which circumſtance they are called by our author

[7] See a prologue to *If this be not a good Play, the Devil is in it*, quoted in p. 183, n. 5. Theſe rooms appear to have been ſometimes employed, in the infancy of the ſtage, for the purpoſes of gallantry. "Theſe plays" (ſays Strype in his additions to Stowe's *Survey*) "being commonly acted on ſundays and feſtivals, the churches were forſaken, and the play-houſes thronged. Great inns were uſed for this purpoſe, which had ſecret chambers and places as well as open ſtages and galleries. Here maids and good citizens' children were inveigled and allured to private unmeet contracts." He is ſpeaking of the year 1574.

[8] "In the play-houſes at London, it is the faſhion of youthes to go firſt into the *yarde*, and to carry their eye through every gallery; then like unto ravens, when they ſpy the carion, thither they flye, and preſs as near to the faireſt as they can." *Plays confuted in Five ſeveral Actions*, by Stephen Goſſon, 1580. Again, in Decker's *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609: "The ſtage, like time, will bring you to moſt perfect light, and lay you open; neither are you to be hunted from thence, though the *ſcar-crowes* in the *yard* hoot at you, hiſs at you, ſpit at you." So, in the prologue to an old comedy called *The Hog has loſt his Pearl*, 1614:

"We may be pelted off for what we know,
"With apples, eggs, or ſtones, from *thoſe below*."

See alſo the prologue to *The Doubtful Heir*, ante, p. 178:

"——and what you moſt delight in,
"Grave *underſtanders*,—."

groundlings, and by Ben Jonſon "the *underſtanding* gentlemen of the *ground*."

The galleries, or *ſcaffolds*, as they are ſometimes called, and that part of the houſe which in private theatres was named the pit,[9] ſeem to have been at the ſame price; and probably in houſes of reputation, ſuch as *the Globe*, and that in *Blackfriars*, the price of admiſſion into thoſe parts of the theatre was ſixpence,[2] while in ſome meaner playhouſes it

[9] The pit Dr. Percy ſuppoſes to have received its name from one of the play-houſes having been formerly a *cock-pit*. This account of the term, however, ſeems to be ſomewhat queſtionable. The place where the ſeats are ranged in St. Mary's at Cambridge, is ſtill called the *pit*; and no one can ſuſpect that venerable fabrick of having ever been a *cock-pit*, or that the phraſe was borrowed from a playhouſe to be applied to a church. A *pit* is a place low in its relative ſituation, and ſuch is the middle part of a theatre.

Shakſpeare himſelf uſes *cock-pit* to expreſs a ſmall confined ſituation, without any particular reference:

"——Can this *cock-pit* hold
"The vaſty fields of France,—or may we cram,
"Within this wooden O, the very caſques
"That did affright the air at Agincourt?"

[2] See an old collection of tales, entitled, *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*, 4to. 1595: "When the great man had read the actors letter, he preſently, in anſwere to it, took a ſheet of paper, and folding *ſixpence* in it, ſealed it, ſubſcribed it, and ſent it to his brother; intimating thereby, that though his brother had vowed not in ſeven years to ſee him, yet he for his *ſixpence* could come and ſee him upon the ſtage at his pleaſure."

So, in the Induction to *The Magnetick Lady*, by Ben Jonſon, which was firſt repreſented in October, 1632: "Not the *fæces* or grounds of your people, that ſit in the oblique caves and wedges of your houſe, your ſinful *ſixpenny mechanicks*."

See below, Verſes addreſſed to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdeſs*.

That there were *ſixpenny* places at the *Blackfriars* playhouſe, appears from the epilogue to Mayne's *City Match*, which was acted at that theatre in 1637, being licenſed on the 17th of November in that year:

was only a penny,[3] in others twopence.[4] The price of admiſſion into the beſt *rooms* or boxes,[5] was, I

" Not that he fears his name can ſuffer wrack
" From them, who *ſixpence* pay, and ſixpence crack;
" To ſuch he wrote not, though ſome parts have been
" So like here, that they to themſelves came in."

[3] So, in *Wit without Money*, by Fletcher: " ——break in at plays like prentices for three a groat, and crack nuts with the ſcholars in *penny* rooms again."

Again, in Decker's *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609: " Your *groundling* and *gallery commoner* buys his ſport by the *penny*."

Again, in *Humours Ordinarie, where a Man may be very merrie and exceeding well uſed for his Sixpence*, no date:

" Will you ſtand ſpending your invention's treaſure
" To teach ſtage-parrots ſpeak for *penny* pleaſure?"

[4] " Pay thy *two-pence* to a player, in this gallery you may ſit by a harlot." *Bell-man's Night-walk*, by Decker, 1616.

Again, in the prologue to *The Woman-hater*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, 1607: " ——to the utter diſcomfiture of all *two-penny gallery* men."

It appears from a paſſage in *The Roaring Girl*, a comedy by Middleton and Decker, 1611, that there was a *two-penny gallery* in *the Fortune* playhouſe: " One of them is Nip; I took him once at the *two-penny gallery* at *the Fortune*." See alſo above, p. 177, n. 7.

[5] The boxes in the theatre at *Blackfriars* were probably ſmall, and appear to have been *encloſed* in the ſame manner as at preſent. See a letter from Mr. Garrard, dated January 25, 1635, *Straff. Letters*, Vol. I. p. 511: " A little pique happened betwixt the duke of Lenox and the lord chamberlain, about a *box* at a new play in the *Blackfriars*, of which the duke had got the key; which if it had come to be debated betwixt them, as it was once intended, ſome heat or perhaps other inconvenience might have happened."

In *the Globe* and the other *publick* theatres, the boxes were of conſiderable ſize. See the prologue to *If this be not a good Play, the Devil is in it*, by Decker, acted at the *Red Bull*:

" ——Give me that man,
" Who, when the plague of an impoſthum'd brains,
" Breaking out, infects a theatre, and hotly reigns,
" Killing the hearers' hearts, that the *vaſt rooms*
" Stand empty, like ſo many dead men's tombs,
" Can call the baniſh'd auditor home," &c.

He ſeems to be here deſcribing his antagoniſt Ben Jonſon, whoſe plays were generally performed to a thin audience. See *Verſes* on our author, by Leonard Digges, Vol. II.

believe, in our author's time, a ſhilling;[6] though afterwards it appears to have riſen to two ſhillings,[7] and half a crown.[8] At the Blackfriars theatre the

[6] "If he have but *twelvepence* in his purſe, he will give it for the *beſt room* in a playhouſe." Sir Thomas Overbury's *Characters*, 1614.

So, in the prologue to our author's *King Henry VIII:*

"——Thoſe that come to ſee
"Only a ſhew or two, and ſo agree
"The play may paſs, if they be ſtill and willing,
"I'll undertake may ſee away their *ſhilling*
"In two ſhort hours."

Again, in a copy of Verſes prefixed to Maſſinger's *Bondman*, 1624:

"Reader, if you have diſburs'd a *ſhilling*
"To ſee this worthy ſtory,——."

Again, in the *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609: "At a new play you take up the *twelvepenny room* next the ſtage, becauſe the lords and you may ſeem to be hail fellow well met."

So late as in the year 1658, we find the following advertiſement at the end of a piece called *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*, by Sir William D'Avenant: "Notwithſtanding the great expence neceſſary to *ſcenes* and other ornaments, in this entertainment, there is good proviſion made of places for a *ſhilling*, and it ſhall certainly begin at three in the afternoon."

In *The Scornful Lady*, which was acted by the children of the Revels at Blackfriars, and printed in 1616, *one-and-ſix-penny* places are mentioned.

[7] See the prologue to *The Queen of Arragon*, a tragedy by Habington, acted at Blackfriars in May, 1640:

"Ere we begin, that no man may repent
"*Two ſhillings* and his time, the author ſent
"The prologue, with the errors of his play,
"That who will may take his money, and away."

Again, in the epilogue to Maine's *City Match*, acted at *Blackfriars*, in November, 1637:

"To them who call't reproof, to make a face,
"Who think they judge, when they frown i'the wrong place,
"Who, if they ſpeake not ill o' the poet, doubt
"They looſe by the play, nor have their *two ſhillings* out
"He ſays," &c.

[8] See *Wit without Money*, a comedy, acted at *The Phœnix* in Drury-lane before 1620:

price of the boxes was, I imagine, higher than at the Globe.

From ſeveral paſſages in our old plays we learn, that ſpectators were admitted on the ſtage,[9] and that the criticks and wits of the time uſually ſat there.[2] Some were placed on the ground;[3] others

" And who extoll'd you into the *half-crown* boxes,
" Where you might ſit and muſter all the beauties."

In the playhouſe called *The Hope* on the Bankſide, there were five different-priced ſeats, from ſixpence to half a crown. See the induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, by Ben Jonſon, 1614.

9 So, in *A mad World my Maſters*, by Middleton, 1608: " The actors have been found in a morning in leſs compaſs than their *ſtage*, though it were ne'er *ſo full of gentlemen*." See alſo p. 187, n. 8.

2 " —— to fair attire the ſtage
" Helps much; for if our *other audience* ſee
" *You on the ſtage depart*, before we end,
" *Our wits go with you all*, and we are fools."

Prologue to *All Fools*, a comedy, acted at *Blackfriars*, 1605.

" By ſitting on the ſtage, you have a ſign'd patent to engroſſe the whole commoditie of *cenſure*; may lawfully preſume to be a girder, and ſtand at the helm to ſteer the paſſage of ſcenes." *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609.

See alſo the preface to the firſt folio edition of our author's works: " —— And though you be a *magiſtrate of wit*, and *ſit on the ſtage* at Blackfriars to arraigne plays dailie,—."

3 " Being on your feet, ſneake not away like a coward, but ſalute all your gentle acquaintance *that are ſpred either on the ruſhes* or on ſtooles about you; and draw what troope you can from the ſtage after you." Decker's *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609. So alſo, in Fletcher's *Queen of Corinth*:

" I would not yet be pointed at as he is,
" For the fine courtier, the woman's man,
" That tells my lady ſtories, diſſolves riddles,
" Uſhers her to her coach, *lies at her feet*
" *At ſolemn maſques*."

From a paſſage in *King Henry IV.* Part I. it may be preſumed that this was no uncommon practice in private aſſemblies alſo:

" She bids you on the wanton ruſhes lay you down,
" And reſt your gentle head upon her lap,
" And ſhe will ſing the ſong that pleaſeth you."

This accounts for Hamlet's ſitting on the ground at Ophelia's feet, during the repreſentation of the play before the king and

ſat on ſtools, of which the price was either ſixpence,[4] or a ſhilling,[5] according, I ſuppoſe, to the commodiouſneſs of the ſituation. And they were attended by pages, who furniſhed them with pipes and tobacco, which was ſmoked here as well as in other parts of the houſe.[6] Yet it ſhould ſeem that

court of Denmark. Our author has only placed the young prince in the ſame ſituation in which probably his patrons Eſſex and Southampton were often ſeen at the feet of ſome celebrated beauty. What ſome choſe from economy, gallantry might have recommended to others.

4 "By *ſitting on the ſtage*, you may with ſmall coſt purchaſe the deere acquaintance of the boyes, have a good *ſtool* for *ſixpence*,—" *Guls Hornebooke.*

Again, *ibidem:* "Preſent not your ſelfe on the ſtage, (eſpecially at a new play,) untill the quaking prologue—is ready to enter; for then it is time, as though you were one of the properties, or that you dropt of [i. e. *off*] the hangings, to creep from behind the arras, with your tripos, or *three-legged ſtoole* in one hand, and a *teſton* mounted between a fore-finger and a thumbe, in the other."

5 "Theſe are the moſt worne and moſt in faſhion
"Amongſt the bever gallants, the ſtone-riders,
"The *private ſtage's audience*, the *twelvepenny-ſtoole* gentlemen."

The Roaring Girl, a comedy by Middleton and Decker, 1611. So, in the Induction to Marſton's *Malcontent*, 1604: "By God's ſlid if you had, I would have given you *but ſixpence* for your ſtool." This therefore was the loweſt rate; and the price of the moſt commodious ſtools on the ſtage was *a ſhilling*.

6 "When young *Rogero* goes to ſee a play,
"His pleaſure is, you *place him on the ſtage*,
"The better to demonſtrate his array,
"And how he ſits *attended by his page*,
"That only ſerves to fill thoſe *pipes with ſmoke*,
"For which he pawned hath his riding-cloak."
Springes for Woodcocks, by Henry Parrot, 1613.

Again, in *Skialetheia*, a collection of Epigrams and Satires, 1598:
"See you him yonder who ſits o'er the ſtage,
"With the *tobacco-pipe* now at his mouth?"

This, however, was accounted "a cuſtom more honoured in the breach than the obſervance;" as appears from a ſatirical epigram by Sir John Davies, 1598:

perſons were ſuffered to ſit on the ſtage only in the private playhouſes, (ſuch as *Blackfriars*, &c.) where the audience was more ſelect, and of a higher claſs; and that in *the Globe* and the other publick theatres, no ſuch licence was permitted.[7]

The ſtage was ſtrewed with ruſhes,[8] which, we learn from Hentzner and Caius de Ephemera, was in the time of Shakſpeare the uſual covering of floors in England.[9] On ſome occaſions it was entirely matted over;[2] but this was probably very rare. The curtain which hangs in the front of the preſent ſtage, drawn up by lines and pullies, though not a modern invention, (for it was uſed by Inigo Jones in the maſques at court,) was yet an apparatus to which the ſimple mechaniſm of our ancient theatres had not arrived; for in them the curtains opened in the middle, and were drawn backwards

" Who dares affirm that Sylla dares not fight?
" He that dares *take tobacco on the ſtage*;
" Dares man a whoore at noon-day through the ſtreet;
" Dares dance in Pauls;" &c.

[7] See the induction to Marſton's *Malecontent*, 1604, which was acted by his majeſty's ſervants at *Blackfriars*:

" *Tyreman.* Sir, the gentlemen will be angry if you ſit here.

" *Sly.* Why, we may ſit upon the ſtage at the *private* houſe. Thou doſt not take me for a country gentleman, doſt? Doeſt thou think I fear hiſſing? Let them that have ſtale ſuits, ſit in the galleries, hiſs at me——."

See alſo *The Roaring Girl*, by Middleton: " —— *the private ſtage's* audience,——." *Ante*, p. 186, n. 5.

[8] " On the very *ruſhes* where the comedy is to daunce, yea, and under the ſtate of Cambyſes himſelfe, muſt our feather'd eſtridge, like a piece of ordnance, be planted valiantly, becauſe impudently, beating down the mews and hiſſes of the oppoſed raſcality." Decker's *Guls Hornebooke*.

[9] See alſo Ben Jonſon's *Every Man out of his Humour*, 1600: " Fore G—, ſweet lady, believe it, I do honour the meaneſt *ruſh* in this chamber for your love."

[2] See p. 176, n. 6.

and forwards on an iron rod.[3] In ſome playhouſes they were woollen, in others, made of ſilk.[4] Towards the rear of the ſtage there appears to have been a balcony,[5] or upper ſtage; the platform of

[3] The epilogue to *Tancred and Giſmund*, a tragedy, 1592, concludes thus:

" Now *draw the curtaines*, for our ſcene is done."

Again, in *Lady Alimony*, 1659: " Be your ſtage-*curtains* artificially drawn, and ſo covertly ſhrowded, that the ſquint-eyed groundling may not peep in."

See alſo a ſtage-direction in *The Firſt Day's Entertainment at Rutland Houſe, by Declamation and Muſick, after the Manner of the Ancients*, by Sir William D'Avenant, 1658:

" The ſong ended, *the curtains are drawn open* again, and the epilogue enters."

[4] See *A Prologue upon removing of the late* Fortune *Players to the* Bull, by J. Tatham; *Fancies Theatre*, 1640:

" Here gentlemen our anchor's fixt; and we,
" Diſdaining *Fortune's* mutability,
" Expect your kind acceptance; then we'll ſing,
" (Protected by your ſmiles, our ever-ſpring,)
" As pleaſant as if we had ſtill poſſeſt
" Our lawful portion out of *Fortune's* breaſt.
" Only we would requeſt you to forbear
" Your wonted cuſtom, banding tile and pear
" Againſt our *curtains*, to allure us forth;—
" I pray, take notice, theſe are of more worth;
" Pure *Naples ſilk*, not *worſted*.—We have ne'er
" An actor here has mouth enough to tear
" Language by the ears. This forlorn hope ſhall be
" By us refin'd from ſuch groſs injury:
" And then let your judicious loves advance
" Us to our merits, them to their ignorance."

[5] See Nabbes's *Covent Garden*, a comedy, 1639:

" Enter Dorothy and Suſan in the *balcone*."

So, in *The Virgin Martyr*, by Maſſinger and Decker, 1622:

" They whiſpering *below*, Enter *above*, Sapritius;—with him Artemia the princeſs, Theophilus, Spungius, and Hircius." And theſe five perſonages ſpeak from their elevated ſituation during the whole ſcene.

Again, in Marſton's *Fawne*, 1606:

" Whilſt the act [i. e. the muſick between one act and another] is a playing, Hercules and Tiberio enters; Tiberio climbs the tree

which was probably eight or nine feet from the ground. I ſuppoſe it to have been ſupported by pillars. From hence, in many of our old plays, part of the dialogue was ſpoken; and in the front of it curtains likewiſe were hung,[6] ſo as occaſionally to conceal the perſons in it from the view of the audience. At each ſide of this balcony was a box, very inconveniently ſituated, which ſometimes was called the *private box*. In theſe boxes, which were at a lower price, ſome perſons ſate, either from economy or ſingularity.[7]

and is received *above* by Dulcimel, Philocalia and a prieſt: Hercules ſtays *beneath*."

See alſo the early quarto edition of our author's *Romeo and Juliet*, where we meet—"Enter *Romeo and Juliet, aloft.*" So, in *The Taming of a Shrew* (not Shakſpeare's play): "Enter *aloft* the drunkard."—Almoſt the whole of the dialogue in that play between the tinker and his attendants, appears to have been ſpoken in this balcony:

In Middleton's *Family of Love*, 1608, ſignat. B 2. b. it is called *the upper ſtage*.

[6] This appears from a ſtage-direction in Maſſinger's *Emperor of the Eaſt*, 1632: "The *curtaines* drawn *above:* Theodoſius and his eunuchs diſcovered." Again, in *King Henry VIII:*

"Let them alone, and *draw the curtain* cloſe."

Henry here ſpeaks from the balcony.

[7] "Whether therefore the gatherers of the publique or private playhouſe ſtand to receive the afternoons rent, let our gallant, having paid it, preſently advance himſelf to the throne of the ſtage. I mean not into *the lord's roome, which is now but the ſtages ſuburbs.* No, thoſe boxes,—by the iniquity of cuſtom, conſpiracy of waiting-women, and gentlemen-uſhers, that there ſweat together, and the covetous ſharers,—are contemptibly thruſt into the *reare*, and much new ſatten is there dambd, by being ſmother'd to death in darkneſs." Decker's *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609. So, in the prologue to an old comedy, of which I have loſt the title:

"The *private box* took up at a new play,
"For me and my retinue; a freſh habit
"Of a faſhion never ſeen before, to draw
"The gallants' eyes, that ſit upon the ſtage."

How little the imaginations of the audience were aſſiſted by ſcenical deception, and how much neceſſity our author had to call on them to "piece out imperfections with their thoughts," may be collected from Sir Philip Sidney, who, deſcribing the ſtate of the drama and the ſtage, in his time, (about the year 1583,) ſays, "Now you ſhall have three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we muſt beleeve the ſtage to be a garden. By and by we heare news of ſhipwrack in the ſame place; then we are to blame, if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that, comes out a hidious monſter with fire and ſmoke; and then the miſerable beholders are bound to take it for a cave; while in the mean time two armies fly in, repreſented with four ſwords and bucklers, and then what hard hart wil not receive it for a pitched field."[8]

The firſt notice that I have found of any thing like moveable ſcenes being uſed in England, is in the narrative of the entertainment given to King James at Oxford in Auguſt 1605, when three plays were performed in the hall of Chriſt Church, of which we have the following account by a contem—

See alſo *Epigrams* by Sir John Davies, no date, but printed at Middleburgh, about 1598:

"*Rufus*, the courtier, at the theatre,
"Leaving the beſt and moſt conſpicuous place,
"Doth either to the ſtage himſelf transfer,
"*Or through a grate doth ſhew his double face,*
"For that the clamorous fry of innes of court,
"Fills up the private roomes of greater price;
"And ſuch a place where all may have reſort,
"He in his ſingularity doth deſpiſe."

It is not very eaſy to aſcertain the preciſe ſituation of the private boxes. A print prefixed to Kirkman's *Drolls*, 1673, induces me to think that they were at each ſide of the ſtage-balcony—

[8] *Defence of Poeſie*, 1595, Signat. H 4.

porary writer. "The ſtage" (he tells us) "was built cloſe to the upper end of the hall, as it ſeemed at the firſt ſight: but indeed it was but a falſe wall faire painted, and adorned with ſtately pillars, which pillars would turn about; by reaſon whereof, with the help of other *painted clothes*, their ſtage did vary three times in the acting of one tragedy:" that is, in other words, there were three ſcenes employed in the exhibition of the piece. The ſcenery was contrived by Inigo Jones, who is deſcribed as *a great traveller*, and who undertook to "further his employers much, and furniſh them with rare devices, but produced very little to that which was expected."[9]

It is obſervable that the writer of this account was not acquainted even with the term, *ſcene*, having uſed *painted clothes* inſtead of it: nor indeed is this ſurpriſing, it not being then found in this ſenſe in any dictionary or vocabulary, Engliſh or foreign, that I have met with. Had the common ſtages been furniſhed with them, neither this writer, nor the makers of dictionaries, could have been ignorant of it.[a] To effect even what was

[9] Leland. *Collec.* Vol. II. pp. 631, 646. Edit. 1770. See alſo p. 639: "The ſame day, Aug. 28, after ſupper, about nine of the clock they began to act the tragedy of *Ajax Flagellifer*, wherein the ſtage *varied three times*. They had all goodly antique apparell, but for all that, it was not acted ſo well by many degrees as I have ſeen it in Cambridge. The King was very wearie before he came thither, but much more wearied by it; and ſpoke many words of diſlike."

[a] Florio, who appears to have diligently ſtudied our cuſtoms, illuſtrating his explanations on many occaſions by Engliſh proverbs, ſayings, local deſcriptions, &c. in his Italian Dictionary, 1598, defines *Scena*, in theſe words: "A ſcene of a comedie, or tragedie. Alſo a ſtage in a theatre, or playhouſe, whereon they play; a ſkaffold, a pavillion, or fore part of a theatre, *where players make them readie, being trimmed with hangings*, out of which

done at Chriſt-Church, the Univerſity found it neceſſary to employ two of the king's carpenters,

they enter upon the ſtage. Uſed alſo for a comedie or a tragedie. Alſo a place where one doth ſhew and ſet forth himſelfe to the world." In his ſecond edition, publiſhed in 1611, inſtead of the words, "A ſcene of a comedie or tragedie," we find—"Any one ſcene *or entrance* of a comedie or tragedie," which more preciſely aſcertains his meaning.

In Cotgrave's French and Engliſh Dictionary printed in 1611, the word *ſcene* is not found, and if it had exiſted either in France or England, (in the ſenſe in which we are now conſidering it,) it would probably have been found. From the word *falot*, the definition of which I ſhall have occaſion to quote hereafter, the writer ſeems to have been not unacquainted with the Engliſh ſtage.

Bullokar, who was a phyſician, publiſhed an *Engliſh Expoſitor* in the year in which Shakſpeare died. From his definition likewiſe it appears, that a moveable painted ſcene was then unknown in our theatres. He defines *Scene*, "A play, a comedy, a tragedy, or the diviſion of a play into certain parts. In old time it ſignified a place covered with boughes, or the room where the players made them readie." Minſheu's large Engliſh Dictionary, which he calls *A Guide to the Tongues*, was publiſhed in the following year, 1617, and there *Scene* is nothing more than "*a theatre.*" Nay, even ſo late as in the year 1656, when Cockeram's Engliſh Dictionary, or *Interpreter of hard Engliſh words* was publiſhed, *Scene* is only ſaid to be "the diviſion of a play into certain parts."

Had our Engliſh theatres in the time of Shakſpeare been furniſhed with moveable ſcenes, painted in perſpective, can it be ſuppoſed that all theſe writers ſhould have been ignorant of it?

It is obſervable that Coryate in his *Crudities*, 4to. 1611, when he is boaſting of the ſuperior ſplendour of the Engliſh theatres, compared with thoſe of Venice, makes no mention of *ſcenes*. "I was at one of their playhouſes, where I ſaw a comedie. The houſe is very beggarly and baſe in compariſon of our ſtately playhouſes in England: neither can their actors compare with us, for *apparel, ſhowes, and muſicke.*" *Crudities*, p. 247.

It is alſo worthy of remark that Mr. Chamberlaine, when he is ſpeaking of the fate of the performances at the Fortune theatre, when it was burnt down in 1621, laments that "their *apparel* and *play-books* were loſt, whereby thoſe poor companions were quite undone;" but ſays not a word of *ſcenes*. See alſo Sir Henry Wotton's letter on the burning of the *Globe*, in 1613, p. 176, n. 6.

MALONE.

That *ſcenes*, and the word—*ſcene*, were uſed in 1618, may be

and to have the advice of the controller of his works. The Queen's Maſque, which was exhibited in the preceding January, was not much more ſucceſsful, though above 3000l. was expended upon it. "At night," ſays Sir Dudley Carleton, "we had the Queen's Maſke in the Banqueting-houſe, or rather her Pageant. There was a great engine at the lower end of the room, which had motion, and in it were the images of ſea-horſes, (with other terrible fiſhes,) which were ridden by the Moors. The indecorum was, that there was all fiſh, and no water. At the further end was a great ſhell in form of a ſkallop, wherein were four ſeats; on the loweſt ſat the queen with my lady Bedford; on the reſt were placed the ladies Suffolk, Darby,"[3] &c.

proved from the following marginal note to the prologue to Barton Holiday's TEXNOΓAMIA, publiſhed in that year: "Here the upper part of the *ſcene* open'd; when ſtraight appear'd an Heaven, and all the pure arts ſitting &c.——they deſcended in order within the *ſcene*, while the muſike plaid." A ſimilar note is appended to the Epilogue, concluding thus: "and then the Heaven cloſed."

I ſeize this opportunity to obſerve, that little deference is due to the authority of ancient Dictionaries, which uſually content themſelves with allotting a ſingle ſenſe to a word, without attention to its different ſhades of meaning. STEEVENS.

[3] Letter from Sir Dudley Carleton to Mr. Winwood, London, Jan. 1604. [i. e. 1604-5,] Winwood's *Memorials*, II. 43. This letter contains ſo curious a trait of our Britiſh Solomon, that I cannot forbear tranſcribing another paſſage from it, though foreign to our preſent ſubject: "On Saint John's day we had the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Suſan performed at Whitehall, with all the honour could be done a great favourite. The court was great, and for that day put on the beſt bravery.—At night there was a Maſk in the hall, which for conceit and faſhion was ſuitable to the occaſion. The preſents of plate and other things given by the noblemen [to the bride and bridegroom] were valued at 2500l.; but that which made it a good marriage, was a gift of the king's of 500l. land, for the bride's jointure. They were

Such were moſt of the Maſques in the time of James the Firſt: triumphal cars, caſtles, rocks, caves, pillars, temples, clouds, rivers, tritons, &c. compoſed the principal part of their decoration. In the courtly maſques given by his ſucceſſor during the firſt fifteen years of his reign, and in ſome of the plays exhibited at court, the art of ſcenery ſeems to have been ſomewhat improved. In 1636 a piece written by Thomas Heywood, called *Love's Miſtreſs or the Queen's Maſque*, was repreſented at Denmark Houſe before their Majeſties. "For the rare decorements" (ſays Heywood in his preface) "which new apparelled it, when it came the ſecond time to the royal view, (her gracious majeſty then entertaining his highneſs at *Denmark Houſe* upon his birth-day,) I cannot pretermit to give a due character to that admirable artiſt Mr. Inigo Jones, maſter ſurveyor of the king's worke, &c. who to *every act*, nay *almoſt* to every *ſcene*, by his excellent inventions gave ſuch an extraordinary luſtre; upon every occaſion *changing the ſtage*, to the admiration

lodged in the council-chamber, where the king in *his ſhirt and night-gown* gave them a *reveille-matin* before they were up, and ſpent a good time *in or upon the bed*, chooſe which you will believe. No ceremony was omitted of bride-cakes, points, garters, and gloves, which have been ever ſince the livery of the court; and at night there was ſewing in the ſheet, caſting of the bride's left hoſe, with many other petty ſorceries."

Our poet has been cenſured for indelicacy of language, particularly in Hamlet's converſation with Ophelia, during the repreſentation of the play before the court of Denmark; but unjuſtly for he undoubtedly repreſented the manners and converſation of his own day faithfully. What the decorum of thoſe times was even in the higheſt claſs, may be conjectured from another paſſage in the ſame letter: "The night's work [the night of the queen's maſque] was concluded with a banquet in the great chamber, which was ſo furiouſly aſſaulted, that down went tables and treſſes before one bit was touched."—Such was the *court* of King James the Firſt.

of all the ſpectators." Here, as on a former occaſion, we may remark, the term *ſcene* is not uſed: the *ſtage was changed* to the admiration of all the ſpectators.[4]

In Auguſt 1636, *The Royal Slave*, written by a very popular poet, William Cartwright, was acted at Oxford before the king and queen, and afterwards at Hampton-Court. Wood informs us,[5] that the ſcenery was an exquiſite and uncommon piece of machinery, contrived by Inigo Jones. The play was printed in 1639; and yet even at that late period, the term *ſcene*, in the ſenſe now affixed to it, was unknown to the author; for deſcribing the various ſcenes employed in this court-exhibition, he denominates them thus: "The firſt *Appearance*, a temple of the ſun.—Second *Appearance*, a city in the front, and a priſon at the ſide," &c. The three other *Appearances* in this play were, a wood, a palace, and a caſtle.

In every diſquiſition of this kind much trouble and many words might be ſaved, by defining the ſubject of diſpute. Before therefore I proceed further in this inquiry, I think it proper to ſay, that by a *ſcene*, I mean, *A* painting *in* perſpective *on a cloth faſtened to a wooden frame or roller*; and that I do *not* mean by this term, "a coffin, or a tomb, or a gilt chair, or a fair chain of pearl, or a crucifix:" and I am the rather induced to make this declaration, becauſe a writer, who obliquely alluded to the poſition which I am now maintaining, ſoon after the firſt edition of this Eſſay was

[4] If in our author's time the publick ſtage had been *changed*, or in other words, had the Globe and Blackfriars playhouſe been furniſhed with *ſcenes*, would they have created ſo much admiration at a royal entertainment in 1636, twenty years after his death?

[5] *Hiſt. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* L. I. p. 344.

publiſhed, has mentioned exhibitions of this kind as a proof of the *ſcenery* of our old plays; and taking it for granted that the point is completely eſtabliſhed by this *deciſive* argument, triumphantly adds, "Let us for the future no more be told of the want of proper *ſcenes* and dreſſes in our ancient theatres."[6]

[6] "My preſent purpoſe," ſays this writer, "is not ſo much to deſcribe this dramatick piece, [*The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, written in 1610 or 1611,] as to ſhow that it bears abundant teſtimony to the uſe of *ſcenery*, and the richneſs of the habits then worn. Theſe particulars will be ſufficiently exemplified by the following ſpeeches, and ſtage-directions:

"Enter the Tyrant agen at a farder door, which opened brings him to the tomb, where the lady lies buried. The Toombe here diſcovered, richlie ſet forthe."

Some lines are then quoted from the ſame piece, of which the following are thoſe which alone are material to the preſent point:

"*Tyrant.*—Softlee, ſoftlee;—
"The vaults e'en chide our ſteps with murmuring ſounds.
"——————All thy ſtill ſtrength,
"Thow grey-eyde monument, ſhall not keep her from us.
"Strike, villaines, thoe the eccho raile us all
"Into ridiculous deafnes; pierce the jawes
"Of this could ponderous creature.—
"O, the moone riſes: What reflection
"Is throwne around this ſanctified buildinge!
"E'en in a twinkling how the monuments glitter,
"As if Death's pallaces were all maſſie ſylver,
"And ſcorn'd the name of marble!"

"Is it probable," (adds this writer) "that ſuch directions and ſpeeches ſhould have been hazarded, unleſs at the ſame time they could be ſupported and countenanced by correſponding ſcenery?"

"I ſhall add two more of the ſtage-directions from this tragedy.—'On a ſodayne in a kinde of noyſe like a wynde, the dores clattering, the toombeſtone flies open, and a great light appears in the midſt of the toombe; his lady, as went owt, ſtanding in it before hym all in white, ſtuck with jewells, and a great crucifix on her breaſt.' Again: "They bring the body in a chayre, dreſt up in black velvet, which ſetts off the paillnes of the hands and face, and a faire chayne of pearle croſs the breaſt, and the crucifix above it," &c.

"Let us for the future, Mr. Baldwin, be told with leſs confidence

A paſſage which has been produced from one of the old comedies,[7] proves that the common theatres were furniſhed with ſome rude pieces of *machinery*, which were uſed when it was neceſſary to exhibit the deſcent of ſome god or ſaint; but it is manifeſt from what has been already ſtated, as well as from all the contemporary accounts, that the mechaniſm of our ancient theatres ſeldom went beyond a tomb, a painted chair, a ſinking cauldron, or a trap-door, and that none of them had moveable ſcenes. When King Henry VIII. is to be diſcovered by the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, reading in his ſtudy, the ſcenical direction in the firſt folio, 1623, (which was printed apparently from playhouſe copies,) is, "*The King draws the curtain*, [i. e. draws it open] *and ſits reading penſively*;" for, beſide the principal curtains that hung in the front of the ſtage, they uſed others as ſubſtitutes for ſcenes,[8] which were

of the want of proper *ſcenes* and dreſſes in our ancient theatres."—Letter in *The St. James's Chronicle*, May, 1780.

To all this I have only to ſay, that it never has been aſſerted, at leaſt by me, that in Shakſpeare's time a *tomb* was not repreſented on the ſtage. The monument of the Capulets was perhaps repreſented in *Romeo and Juliet*, and a wooden ſtructure might have been uſed for this purpoſe in that and other plays; of which when the door was once opened, and a proper quantity of lamps, falſe ſtones, and black cloth diſplayed, the poet might be as luxuriant as he pleaſed in deſcribing the ſurrounding inviſible *marble monuments*. This writer, it ſhould ſeem, was thinking of the epigram on Butler the poet: we aſk for *ſcenes*, and he gives us only a *ſtone*.

[7] "Of whyche the lyke thyng is uſed to be ſhewed *now adays* in *ſtage-playes*, when ſome *god* or ſome *ſaynt* is made to appere forth of a cloude; and ſuccoureth the parties which ſeemed to be towardes ſome great danger, through the Soudan's crueltie." The author's marginal abridgement of his text is—"The lyke manner uſed nowe at *our* days in ſtage-playes." *Accolaſtus*, a comedy by T. Palſgrave, chaplain to King Henry VIII. 1540.

[8] See Webſter's *Dutcheſs of Malfy*, acted at the Globe and Black-friars, and printed in 1623: "Here is diſcovered behind a *traverſe*

denominated *traverſes*. If a bedchamber is to be repreſented, no change of ſcene is mentioned; but the property-man is ſimply ordered *to thruſt forth a bed*, or, the curtains being opened, a bed is exhibited. So, in the old play on which Shakſpeare formed his *King Henry VI.* P. II. when Cardinal Beaufort is exhibited dying, the ſtage-direction is—"Enter King and Saliſbury, and then *the curtaines be drawn*, [i. e. drawn open,] and the Cardinal is diſcovered in his bed, raving and ſtaring as if he were mad." When the fable requires the Roman capitol to be repreſented, we find two officers enter, "to lay cuſhions, *as it were* in the capitol." So, in *King Richard II.* Act IV. ſc. i: "Bolingbroke, &c.

the artificial figures of Antonio and his children, appearing as if they were dead." In *The Devil's Charter*, a tragedy, 1607, the following ſtage-direction is found: "Alexander draweth [that is, draws open] *the curtaine of his ſtudie*, where he diſcovereth the devill ſitting in his pontificals." Again, in *Satiromaſtix*, by Decker, 1602: "Horace ſitting in his *ſtudy*, *behind a curtaine*, a candle by him burning, books lying confuſedly," &c. In Marſton's *What you will*, a comedy, 1607, the following ſtage-direction ſtill more deciſively proves this point: "Enter a Schoole-maiſter,—draws [i. e. draws open] the curtains *behind*, with Battus, Nows, Slip, Nathaniel, and Holifernes Pippo, ſchool-boyes, ſitting with bookes in their handes." Again, in *Albovine*, by Sir William D'Avenant, 1629: "He *drawes the Arras*, and *diſcovers* Albovine, Rhodolinda, Valdaura, dead in chaires." Again, in *The Woman in the Moon*, by Lily, 1597: "They draw *the curtins* from before Natures ſhop, where ſtands an image clad, and ſome unclad. They bring forth the cloathed image." Again, in *Romeo and Juliet*, 1597, Juliet, after ſhe has ſwallowed the ſleepy potion, is ordered to "throw herſelfe on the bed, *within the curtaines*." As ſoon as Juliet has fallen on the bed, the curtains being ſtill open, the nurſe enters, then old Capulet and his lady, then the muſicians; and all on the ſame ſpot. If they could have exhibited a bed-chamber, and then could have ſubſtituted any other room for it, would they have ſuffered the muſicians and the Nurſe's ſervant to have carried on a ludicrous dialogue in one where Juliet was ſuppoſed to be lying dead?

enter *as* to the parliament."[9] Again, in *Sir John Oldcaſtle*, 1600: "Enter Cambridge, Scroop, and Gray, *as* in a chamber." When the citizens of Angiers were to appear on the walls of their town, and young Arthur to leap from the battlements, I ſuppoſe our anceſtors were contented with ſeeing them in the balcony already deſcribed; or perhaps a few boards were tacked together, and painted ſo as to reſemble the rude diſcoloured walls of an old town, behind which a platform might have been placed near the top, on which the citizens ſtood: but ſurely this can ſcarcely be called a *ſcene*. Though undoubtedly our poet's company were furniſhed with ſome wooden fabrick ſufficiently reſembling a tomb, for which they muſt have had occaſion in ſeveral plays, yet ſome doubt may be entertained, whether in *Romeo and Juliet* any exhibition of Juliet's monument was given on the ſtage. Romeo perhaps only opened with his mattock one of the ſtage trap-doors, (which might have repreſented a tomb-ſtone,) by which he deſcended to a vault beneath the ſtage, where Juliet was depoſited; and this notion is countenanced by a paſſage in the play, and by the poem on which the drama was founded."[1]

In all the old copies of the play laſt-mentioned

[9] See theſe ſtage-directions in the firſt folio.

[1] "Why I *deſcend* into this bed of death,—." *Romeo and Juliet*, Act V. So, in *The Tragical Hiſtory of Romeus and Juliet*, 1562:

"And then our Romeus, the *vault-ſtone ſet up-right*,
"*Deſcended* downe, and in his hand he bore the candle light."

Juliet, however, after her recovery, ſpeaks and dies upon the ſtage. If therefore, the exhibition was ſuch as has been now ſuppoſed, Romeo muſt have brought her up in his arms from the vault beneath the ſtage, after he had killed Paris, and then addreſſed her,—"O my love, my wife," &c.

we find the following ſtage-direction: "*They march about the ſtage, and ſerving-men come forth with their napkins.*" A more deciſive proof than this, that the ſtage was not furniſhed with ſcenes, cannot be produced. Romeo, Mercutio, &c. with their torch-bearers and attendants, are the perſons who march about the ſtage. They are in the ſtreet, on their way to Capulet's houſe, where a maſquerade is given; but Capulet's ſervants who come forth with their napkins, are ſuppoſed to be in a hall or ſaloon of their maſter's houſe: yet both the maſquers *without* and the ſervants *within* appear on the ſame ſpot. In like manner in *King Henry VIII.* the very ſame ſpot is at once the outſide and inſide of the Council-Chamber.[3]

It is not, however, neceſſary to inſiſt either upon the term itſelf, in the ſenſe of a painting in perſpective on cloth or canvas, being unknown to our early writers, or upon the various ſtage-directions which are found in the plays of our poet and his contemporaries, and which afford the ſtrongeſt preſumptive evidence that the ſtage in his time was not furniſhed with ſcenes; becauſe we have to the ſame point the concurrent teſtimony of Shakſpeare himſelf,[4] of Ben Jonſon, of every writer of the laſt age who has had occaſion to mention this ſubject, and even of the very perſon who firſt introduced ſcenes on the publick ſtage.

In the year 1629 Jonſon's comedy intitled *The New Inn* was performed at the Blackfriars theatre, and deſervedly damned. Ben was ſo much incenſed at the town for condemning his piece, that in 1631

[3] See Vol. XI. p. 177, n. 8.

[4] "In your imagination hold
"*This ſtage*, the ſhip, upon whoſe deck
"The ſea-toſt Pericles appears to ſpeak."

he publiſhed it with the following title: *The New Inne, or the light Heart*, a comedy; as it was never acted, but moſt negligently played, by ſome, the kings ſervants, and more ſqueamiſhly beheld and cenſured by others, the kings ſubjects, 1629: And now at laſt ſet at liberty to the readers, his Ma.ties ſervants and ſubjects, to be judged, 1631." In the Dedication to this piece, the author, after expreſſing his profound contempt for the ſpectators, who were at the firſt repreſentation of this play, ſays, "What did they come for then, thou wilt aſk me. I will as punctually anſwer: to ſee and to be ſeene. To make a general muſter of themſelves in their clothes of credit, and poſſeſſe the ſtage againſt the playe: to diſlike all, but marke nothing: and by their confidence of riſing between the actes in oblique lines, make affidavit to the whole houſe of their not underſtanding one ſcene. Arm'd with this prejudice, as *the ſtage furniture or arras clothes*, they were there; as ſpectators away; for *the faces in the hangings* and they beheld alike."

The exhibition of plays being forbidden ſome time before the death of Charles I.[5] Sir William D'Avenant in 1656 invented a new ſpecies of en-

[5] An ordinance for the ſuppreſſing of all ſtage-plays and interludes, was enacted Feb. 13, 1647-8, and Oliver and his Saints ſeem to have been very diligent in enforcing it. From Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 332, we learn that Captain Bethan was appointed (13 Dec. 1648,) Provoſt Martial, "with power to ſeize upon all ballad-ſingers, and to *ſuppreſs ſtage-plays*."

"20 Dec. 1649. Some ſtage-players in Saint John's-ſtreet [the *Red Bull* theatre was in this ſtreet,] were apprehended by troopers, their cloaths taken away, and themſelves carried to priſon." Ibidem, p. 419.

"Jan. 1655. [1655-6.] Players taken in Newcaſtle, and whipt for rogues." Ibid. 619.

"Sept. 4, 1656. Sir William D'Avenant printed his Opera, notwithſtanding the nicety of the times." Ibidem, p. 639.

tertainment, which was exhibited at Rutland Houſe, at the upper end of Alderſgate-ſtreet. The title of the piece, which was printed in the ſame year, is, *The Siege of Rhodes, made a Repreſentation* by the Art of proſpective in Scenes; *and the Story ſung in recitative Muſick.* "The original of this muſick," ſays Dryden, "and of the *ſcenes* which adorned his work, he had from the Italian operas;[6] but he heightened his characters (as I may probably imagine) from the examples of Corneille and ſome French poets." If, ſixty years before, the exhibition of the plays of Shakſpeare had been aided on the common ſtage by the advantage of moveable ſcenes, or if the term *ſcene* had been familiar to D'Avenant's audience, can we ſuppoſe that he would have found it neceſſary to uſe a periphraſtick deſcription, and to promiſe that his repreſentation ſhould be aſſiſted by *the art of proſpective in ſcenes?* "It has been often wiſhed," ſays he in his Addreſs to the Reader, "that our *ſcenes* (we having obliged ourſelves to the variety of *five changes*, according to the ancient dramatick diſtinctions made for time,) had not been confined to about eleven feet in the height and about fifteen in depth, including the places of paſſage reſerved for the muſick." From theſe words we learn that he had in that piece five ſcenes. In 1658 he exhibited at the old theatre called the Cockpit in Drury-lane, *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru, expreſs'd by vocal and inſtrumental Muſick, and by Art of* perſpective *in* Scenes.[7] In ſpring 1662, having ob-

[6] Fleckno in the preface to his comedy entitled *Demoiſelles a-la-Mode*, 1667, obſerves, that "one *Italian* ſcene with four doors will do" for the repreſentation.

[7] In "The Publick Intelligencer, communicating the chief occurrences and proceedings within the dominions of England,

tained a patent from King Charles the Second, and built a new playhouſe in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, he opened his theatre with *The Firſt Part of the Siege of Rhodes*, which ſince its firſt exhibition he had enlarged. He afterwards in the ſame year exhibited *The Second Part of the Siege of Rhodes*, and his comedy called *The Wits*; "theſe plays," ſays Downes, who himſelf acted in *The Siege of Rhodes*, "having new *ſcenes* and decorations, being *the firſt* that ever were introduced in England." Scenes had certainly been uſed before in the maſques at Court, and in a few private exhibitions, and by D'Avenant himſelf in his attempts at theatrical entertainments ſhortly before the death of Cromwell: Downes therefore, who is extremely inaccurate in his language in every part of his book, muſt have meant—the firſt ever exhibited in a *regular drama, on a publick theatre.*

Scotland, and Wales, from Monday, December 20, to Monday, December 27, 1658," I find the following notice taken of D'Avenant's exhibition by the new Protector, Richard:

"Whitehall, December 23.

"A courſe is ordered for taking into conſideration the *Opera*, ſhewed at the Cockpitt in Drury Lane, and the perſons to whom it ſtands referred, are to ſend for the poet and actors, and to inform themſelves of the nature of the work, and to examine by what authority the ſame is expoſed to publick view; and they are alſo to take the beſt information they can, concerning the acting of ſtage-playes, and upon the whole to make report," &c.

The Saints were equally averſe to every other ſpecies of feſtivity as well as the Opera, and conſidered holydays, the common prayer-book, and a play-book, as equally pernicious; for in the ſame paper I find this notification:

"It was ordered by his Highneſs the Lord Protector and the Council, that effectual letters be written to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London, and to the Juſtices of peace for Weſtminſter and the liberties thereof, Middleſex and Borough of Southwark, to uſe their endeavour for aboliſhing the uſe of the feſtivals of Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and other feaſts called holydaies; as alſo for preventing the uſe of the common prayer-book."

I have ſaid that I could produce the teſtimony of Sir William D'Avenant himſelf on this ſubject. His prologue to *The Wits*, which was exhibited in the ſpring of the year 1662, ſoon after the opening of his theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, if every other document had periſhed, would prove deciſively that our author's plays had not the aſſiſtance of painted ſcenes. " There are ſome, ſays D'Avenant,

" ——who would the world perſuade,
" That gold is better when the ſtamp is bad;
" And that an *ugly ragged* piece of eight
" Is ever true in metal and in weight;
" As if a guinny and louis had leſs
" Intrinſick value for their handſomeneſs.
" So diverſe, who outlive the former age,
" Allow [8] the coarſeneſs of the *plain old ſtage*,
" And think rich veſts and *ſcenes* are only fit
" Diſguiſes for the want of art and wit."

And no leſs deciſive is the different language of the licence for erecting a theatre, granted to him by King Charles I. in 1639, and the letters patent which he obtained from his ſon in 1662. In the former, after he is authorized " to entertain, govern, privilege, and keep ſuch and ſo many players to exerciſe action, muſical preſentments, ſcenes, dancing, and the like, as he the ſaid William Davenant ſhall think fit and approve for the ſaid houſe, and ſuch perſons to permit and continue at and during the pleaſure of the ſaid W. D. to act plays in ſuch houſe ſo to be by him erected, and exerciſe muſick, muſical preſentments, ſcenes, dancing, or other the like, at the ſame or other hours, or times, or after plays are ended,"—the clauſe which empowers him to take certain prices from thoſe who ſhould reſort to his theatre runs thus:

[8] i. e. approve.

" And that it ſhall and may be lawful to and for the ſaid W. D. &c. to take and receive of ſuch our ſubjects as ſhall reſort to ſee or hear any ſuch *plays, ſcenes, and entertainments* whatſoever, ſuch ſum or ſums of money, as is or hereafter from time to time ſhall be accuſtomed to be given or taken in other playhouſes and places for the like plays, ſcenes, preſentments, and entertainments."

Here we ſee that when the theatre was fitted up in the uſual way of that time without the decoration of ſcenery, (for *ſcenes* in the foregoing paſſages mean, not paintings, but ſhort ſtage-repreſentations or preſentments,) the uſual prices were authorized to be taken: but after the Reſtoration, when Sir W. D'Avenant furniſhed his new theatre with ſcenery, he took care that the letters patent which he then obtained, ſhould ſpeak a different language, for there the correſponding clauſe is as follows:

" And that it ſhall and may be lawful to and for the ſaid Sir William D'Avenant, his heirs, and aſſigns, to take and receive of ſuch of our ſubjects as ſhall reſort to ſee or hear any ſuch plays, ſcenes, and entertainments whatſoever, ſuch ſum or ſums of money, as either have accuſtomably been given and taken in the like kind, or as ſhall be thought reaſonable by him or them, in regard of the great expences of SCENES, muſick, and ſuch new decorations *as have not been formerly uſed.*"

Here for the firſt time in theſe letters patent the word *ſcene* is uſed in that ſenſe in which Sir William had employed it in the printed title-pages of his muſical entertainments exhibited a few years before. In the former letters patent granted in 1639, the word in that ſenſe does not once occur.

To the teſtimony of D'Avenant himſelf may be added that of Dryden, both in the paſſage already

quoted, and in his prologue to *The Rival Ladies*, performed at the King's theatre in 1664:

" ——— in former days
" Good prologues were as ſcarce as now good plays.—
" You now have habits, dances, *ſcenes*, and rhymes;
" High language often, ay, and ſenſe ſometimes."

And ſtill more expreſs is that of the author of *The Generous Enemies*, exhibited at the King's Theatre in 1672:

" I cannot chooſe but laugh, when I look back and ſee
" The ſtrange viciſſitudes of poetrie.
" Your aged fathers came to plays for wit,
" And ſat knee-deep in nutſhells in the pit;
" *Coarſe hangings then, inſtead of ſcenes were worn,*
" *And Kidderminſter did the ſtage adorn:*
" But you, their wiſer offspring, did advance
" To plot of jigg, and to dramatick dance,"[9] &c.

[9] This explains what Dryden means in his prologue to *The Rival Ladies*, quoted above, where, with *ſcenes* and the other novelties introduced after the Reſtoration, he mentions *dance*. A dance by a *boy* was not uncommon in Shakſpeare's time; but ſuch dances as were exhibited at the Duke's and King's theatre, which are here called *dramatick dances*, were unknown.

The following prologue to *Tunbridge Wells*, acted at the duke's theatre, and printed in 1678, is more diffuſe upon this ſubject, and confirms what has been ſtated in the text:

" The old Engliſh ſtage, confin'd to plot and ſenſe,
" Did hold abroad but ſmall intelligence;
" But ſince the invaſion of the foreign *ſcene*,
" Jack-pudding farce, and thundering machine,
" Dainties to your grave anceſtors unknown,
" Who never diſlik'd wit becauſe their own,
" There's not a player but is turn'd a ſcout,
" And every ſcribbler ſends his envoys out,
" To fetch from Paris, Venice, or from Rome,
" Fantaſtick fopperies, to pleaſe at home.
" And that each act may riſe to your deſire,
" Devils and witches muſt each ſcene inſpire;
" Wit rowls in waves, and ſhowers down in fire.
" With what ſtrange eaſe a play may now be writ!
" When the beſt half's compos'd by *painting* it,
" And that in the air or dance lies all the wit.

Theſe are not the ſpeculations of ſcholars concerning a cuſtom of a former age, but the teſtimony of perſons who were either ſpectators of what they deſcribe, or daily converſed with thoſe who had trod our ancient ſtage: for D'Avenant's firſt play, *The Cruel Brother*, was acted at the Black-friars in January, 1626-7, and Mohun and Hart, who had themſelves acted before the civil wars, were employed in that company, by whoſe immediate ſucceſſors *The Generous Enemies* was exhibited; I mean the King's Servants. Major Mohun acted in the piece before which the lines laſt quoted were ſpoken.

I may add alſo, that Mr. Wright, the author of *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, whoſe father had been a ſpectator of ſeveral plays before the breaking out of

" True ſenſe or plot would fooleries appear
" Faults, I ſuppoſe, you ſeldom meet with here,
" For 'tis no mode to profit by the ear.
" Your ſouls, we know, are ſeated in your eyes;
" An actreſs in a cloud's a ſtrange ſurpriſe,
" And you ne'er pay'd treble prices to be wiſe."

The French theatre, as we learn from Scaliger, was not furniſhed with ſcenes, or even with the ornaments of tapeſtry, in the year 1561. See Scaliger. *Poetices*, folio, 1561, Lib. I. c. xxi. Both it, however, and the Italian ſtage, appear to have had the decoration of ſcenery before the Engliſh. In 1638 was publiſhed at Ravenna—*Pratica di fabbricar* Scene *e machine ne'teatri*, di Nicola Sabbatini da Peſaro. With reſpect to the French ſtage, ſee D'Avenant's prologue to *The Second Part of the Siege of Rhodes*, 1663:

" ——— many travellers here as judges come,
" From Paris, Florence, Venice, and from Rome;
" Who will deſcribe, when any *ſcene we draw*,
" By each of ours all that they ever ſaw:
" Thoſe praiſing for extenſive breadth and height,
" An inward diſtance to deceive the ſight."

It is ſaid in the Life of Betterton, that " he was ſent to Paris by king Charles the Second to take a view of the French theatre, that he might better judge of what might contribute to the improvement of our own." He went to Paris probably in the year 1666, when both the London theatres were ſhut.

the civil wars, expreſsly ſays, that the theatre had *no ſcenes*.[2]

But, ſays Mr. Steevens, (who differs with me in opinion on the ſubject before us, and whoſe ſentiments I ſhall give below,) "how happened it, that Shakſpeare himſelf ſhould have mentioned the act of *ſhifting ſcenes*, if in his time there were no ſcenes capable of being *ſhifted*? Thus in the Chorus to *King Henry V*:

'Unto Southampton do we *ſhift our ſcene*.'

"This phraſe" (he adds) "was hardly more ancient than the cuſtom it deſcribes."[3]

Who does not ſee, that Shakſpeare in the paſſage here quoted uſes the word *ſcene* in the ſame ſenſe in which it was uſed two thouſand years before he was born; that is, for the place of action repreſented by the ſtage; and not for that moveable hanging or painted cloth, ſtrained on a wooden frame, or rolled round a cylinder, which is now called a SCENE? If the ſmalleſt doubt could be entertained of his meaning, the following lines in the ſame play would remove it:

[2] "Shakſpeare, (who as I have heard, was a much better poet than player,) Burbage, Hemmings, and others of the older ſort, were dead before I knew the town; but in my time, *before the wars*, Lowin uſed to act Falſtaffe," &c.—"Though the town was then not much more than half ſo populous as now, yet then the prices were ſmall, (*there being no ſcenes*,) and better order kept among the company that came." *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, 8vo. 1699. This Eſſay is in the form of a Dialogue between *Trueman*, an old Cavalier, and *Lovewit*, his friend.

The account of the old ſtage, which is given by the Cavalier, Wright probably derived from his father, who was born in 1611, and was himſelf a dramatick writer.

[3] See Mr. Steevens's Shakſpeare, 1785, *King John*, p. 56, n. 7.

" The king is ſet from London, and the *ſcene*
" Is now *tranſported* to Southampton."

This, and this only, was the *ſhifting* that was meant; a movement from one place to another in the progreſs of the drama; nor is there found a ſingle paſſage in his plays in which the word *ſcene* is uſed in the ſenſe required to ſupport the argument of thoſe who ſuppoſe that the common ſtages were furniſhed with moveable ſcenes in his time. He conſtantly uſes the word either for a ſtage-exhibition in general, or the component part of a play, or the place of action repreſented by the ſtage: [4]

" For all my life has been but as a *ſcene*,
" Acting that argument." *King Henry IV.* Part II.
" At your induſtrious *ſcenes* and acts of death."
King John.

[4] And ſo do all the other dramatick writers of his time. So, in Heywood's *Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington*, 1601:

" —— I only mean —
" Myſelf in perſon to preſent ſome *ſcenes*
" Of tragick matter, or perchance of mirth."

Again, in the prologue to *Ram Alley, or Merry Tricks*, a comedy, 1611:

" But if conceit, with *quick-turn'd ſceanes*,—
" May win your favours,—."

Again, in the prologue to *The Late Lancaſhire Witches*, 1634:

" —— we are forc'd from our own nation
" To ground the *ſcene* that's now in agitation."

Again, in the prologue to Shirley's *School of Compliments*, 1629:

" ——— This play is
" The firſt fruits of a muſe, that before this
" Never ſaluted audience, nor doth meane
" To ſwear himſelf a factor for the *ſcene*."

Again, in the prologue to *Hannibal and Scipio*, 1637:

" The places ſometimes chang'd too for the *ſcene*,
" Which is tranſlated as the muſick plays," &c.

Here *tranſlating* a *ſcene* means juſt the ſame as *ſhifting a ſcene* in *King Henry V.*

I forbear to add more inſtances, though almoſt every one of our old plays would furniſh me with many.

" What *ſcene* of death hath Roſcius now to act?"
King Henry VI. Part III.
" Thus with imagin'd wing our ſwift *ſcene* flies,—."
King Henry V.
" To give our *ſcene* ſuch growing,—." *Ibid.*
" And ſo our *ſcene* muſt to the battle fly,—." *Ibid.*
" That he might play the woman in the *ſcene*."
Coriolanus.
" A queen in jeſt, only to fill the *ſcene*." *King Richard III.*

I ſhall add but one more inſtance from *All's well that ends well:*

" Our *ſcene* is alter'd from a ſerious thing,
" And now *chang'd* to the Beggar and the King."

from which lines it might, I conceive, be as reaſonably inferred that *ſcenes* were *changed* in Shakſpeare's time, as from the paſſage relied on in *King Henry V.* and perhaps by the ſame mode of reaſoning it might be proved, from a line above quoted from the ſame play, that the technical modern term, *wings*, or ſide-ſcenes, was not unknown to our great poet.

The various circumſtances which I have ſtated, and the accounts of the contemporary writers,[5]

[5] All the writers on the ancient Engliſh ſtage that I have met with, concur with thoſe quoted in the text on this ſubject: " Now for the difference betwixt our theatres and thoſe of former times," (ſays Fleckno, who lived near enough the time to be accurately informed,) " they were but plain and ſimple, *with no other ſcenes nor decorations of the ſtages but only old tapeſtry*, and the ſtage ſtrewed with ruſhes; with their habits accordingly." *Short Diſcourſe of the Engliſh Stage*, 1664. In a ſubſequent paſſage indeed he adds, " For ſcenes and machines, they are no new invention; our maſques, and *ſome of our playes*, in former times, (though not ſo ordinary,) having had as good or rather better, than any we have now."—To reconcile this paſſage with the foregoing, the author muſt be ſuppoſed to ſpeak here, not of the exhibitions at the publick theatres, but of maſques and *private* plays, performed either at court or at noblemen's houſes. He does not ſay, " ſome of our *theatres*," —but, " our maſques, and ſome of our *playes* having had," &c.

furniſh us, in my apprehenſion, with deciſive and

We have already ſeen that *Love's Miſtreſs or the Queen's Maſque* was exhibited with ſcenes at Denmark-houſe in 1636. In the reign of King Charles I. the performance of plays at court, and at private houſes, ſeems to have been very common; and gentlemen went to great expence in theſe exhibitions. See a letter from Mr. Garrard to Lord Strafford, dated Feb. 7, 1637; *Strafford's Letters*, Vol. II. p. 150: "Two of the king's ſervants, privy-chamber men both, have writ each of them a play, Sir John Sutlin [Suckling] and Will. Barclay, which have been acted in court, and at the Black-friars, with much applauſe. Sutlin's play coſt *three or four hundred pounds* ſetting out: eight or ten ſuits of new cloaths he gave the players; an unheard-of prodigality." The play on which Sir John Suckling expended this large ſum, was *Aglaura*.

To the authority of Fleckno may be added that of Edward Phillips, who, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1674, [article, D'Avenant,] praiſes the poet for "the great fluency of his wit and fancy, eſpecially for what he wrote for the Engliſh ſtage, of which, having laid the foundation before by his muſical dramas, when the uſual plays were not ſuffered to be acted, *he was the firſt reviver and improver, by painted ſcenes.*" Wright alſo, who was well acquainted with the hiſtory of our ancient ſtage, and had certainly converſed with many perſons who had ſeen theatrical performances before the civil wars, expreſsly ſays, as I have obſerved above, that "*ſcenes* were firſt introduced by Sir William D'Avenant, on the *publick* ſtage, at the Duke's old theatre in Lincoln's-Innfields."—"Preſently after the Reſtoration," this writer informs us, "the king's players acted publickly at the Red Bull for ſome time, and then removed to a new-built playhouſe in Vere-ſtreet, by Clare-market. There they continued for a year or two, and then removed to the theatre-royal in Drury-lane, where they *firſt* made uſe of SCENES, *which had been a little before introduced* UPON THE PUBLICK STAGE *by Sir W. D'Avenant at the Duke's old theatre in Lincoln's-Innfields*, but afterwards very much improved, with the addition of curious machines, by Mr. Betterton, at the new theatre in Dorſet Gardens, to the great expence and continual charge of the players." *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, 8vo. 1699, p. 10. Wright calls it the Duke's *old* theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, though in fact in 1663 it was a new building, becauſe when he wrote, it had become old, and a new theatre had been built in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields in 1695. He is here ſpeaking of *plays and players*, and therefore makes no account of the muſical entertainments exhibited by D'Avenant a few years before at Rutland Houſe, and at the Cock-pit in Drury-lane, in which a little attempt at ſcenery had been made. In thoſe pieces, I believe, no ſtage-player performed.

incontrovertible proofs,[6] that the ſtage of Shakſpeare was not furniſhed with *moveable painted*

[6] I ſubjoin the ſentiments of Mr. Steevens, who differs with me in opinion on this ſubject; obſerving only that in general the paſſages to which he alludes, prove only that our author's plays were not exhibited without the aid of *machinery*, which is not denied; and that not a ſingle paſſage is quoted, which proves that a moveable painted ſcene was employed in any of his plays in his theatre. The lines quoted from *The Staple of News*, at the bottom of p. 215, muſt have been tranſcribed from ſome incorrect edition, for the original copy, printed in 1631, reads—SCENE, not SCENES; a variation of ſome importance. The words—"*the various ſhifting of their* SCENE," denote, in my apprehenſion, nothing more than *frequent change of place in the progreſs of the drama:* and even if that were not the caſe, and theſe words were uſed in the modern ſenſe, they would not prove that ſcenes were employed on the ſtage in *Shakſpeare's* time, for *The Staple of News* was not exhibited till March, 1625-6.

"It muſt be acknowledged," ſays Mr. Steevens, "that little more is advanced on this occaſion, than is fairly ſupported by the teſtimony of contemporary writers.

"Were we, however, to reaſon on ſuch a part of the ſubject as is now before us, ſome ſuſpicions might ariſe, that where machinery was diſcovered, the leſs complicated adjunct of ſcenes was ſcarcely wanting. When the column is found ſtanding, no one will ſuppoſe but that it was once accompanied by its uſual entablature. If this inference be natural, little impropriety can be complained of in one of the ſtage-directions above mentioned. Where the bed is introduced, the ſcene of a bed-chamber (a thing too common to deſerve deſcription) would of courſe be at hand. Neither ſhould any great ſtreſs be laid on the words of Sir Philip Sidney. Are we not ſtill obliged to receive the ſtage alternately as a garden, as an ocean, as a range of rocks, or as a cavern? With all our modern advantages, ſo much of *vraiſemblance* is wanting in a theatre, that the apologies which Shakſpeare offers for ſcenical deficiency, are ſtill in ſome degree needful; and be it always remembered that Sir Philip Sidney has not poſitively declared that *no* painted ſcenes were in uſe. Who that mentions the preſent ſtage, would think it neceſſary to dwell on the article of ſcenery, unleſs it were peculiarly ſtriking and magnificent? Sir Philip has not ſpoken of ſtage-habits, and are we therefore to ſuppoſe that none were worn? Beſides, between the time when Sir Philip wrote his *Defence of Poeſy*, and the period at which the plays of Shakſpeare were preſented, the ſtage in all probability had received much additional embelliſhment. Let me repeat, that if

ſcenes, but merely decorated with curtains, and

in 1529 (the date of *Acolaſtus*) machinery * is known to have exiſted, in 1592 (when Shakſpeare commenced a play-wright) a greater number of ornaments might naturally be expected, as it is uſual for one improvement to be ſoon followed by another. That the plays of Shakſpeare were exhibited with the aid of *machinery*, the following ſtage-directions, copied from the folio 1623, will abundantly prove. In *The Tempeſt*, Ariel is ſaid to enter "like a harpey, claps his wings on the table, and with a quaint device the banquet vaniſhes." In a ſubſequent ſcene of the ſame play, Juno "deſcends;" and in *Cymbeline*, Jupiter "deſcends likewiſe, in thunder and lightning, ſitting upon an eagle." In *Macbeth*, "the cauldron *ſinks*, and the apparitions *riſe*." It may be added, that the dialogue of Shakſpeare has ſuch perpetual reference to objects ſuppoſed viſible to the audience, that the want of ſcenery could not have failed to render many of the deſcriptions uttered by his ſpeakers abſurd and laughable.—Macduff examines the outſide of Inverneſs caſtle with ſuch minuteneſs, that he diſtinguiſhes even the neſts which the martins had built under the projecting parts of its roof.—Romeo, ſtanding in a garden, points to the tops of fruit-trees gilded by the moon.—The prologue-ſpeaker to *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* expreſsly ſhows the ſpectators "*this* worm-eaten hold of ragged ſtone," in which Northumberland was lodged. Jachimo takes the moſt exact inventory of every article in Imogen's bedchamber, from the ſilk and ſilver of which her tapeſtry was wrought, down to the Cupids that ſupport her andirons. Had not the inſide of this apartment, with its proper furniture, been repreſented, how ridiculous muſt the action of Jachimo have appeared! He muſt have ſtood looking out of the room for the particulars ſuppoſed to be viſible within it. In one of the parts of *King Henry VI.* a cannon is diſcharged againſt a tower; and converſations are held in almoſt every ſcene from different walls, turrets, and battlements. Nor is my belief in ancient ſcenery entirely founded on conjecture. In the folio edition of Shakſpeare's plays, 1623, the following traces of it are preſerved. In *King John*: "Enter, *before Angiers*, Philip king of France," &c.—"Enter a citizen *upon the walls*."—"Enter the herald of France with

* What happy deceptions could be produced by the aid of framework and painted canvas, we may learn from Holinſhed, and yet more ancient hiſtorians. The pageants and tournaments at the beginning of Henry VIIIth's reign very frequently required that the caſtles of imaginary beings ſhould be exhibited. Of ſuch contrivances ſome deſcriptions remain. Theſe extempore buildings afforded a natural introduction to ſcenery on the ſtage.

arras or tapeſtry hangings, which, when decayed,

trumpets *to the gates.*"—"Enter Arthur *on the walls.*" In *King Henry V.* "Enter the king, &c. *with ſcaling ladders at Harfleur.*"—"Enter the king with all his train *before the gates.*" In *King Henry VI.* "Enter to the protector *at the Tower gates,*" &c.—"Enter Saliſbury and Talbot *on the walls.*"—"The French leap over *the walls* in their ſhirts."—"Enter Pucelle *on the top of the tower,* thruſting out a torch burning."—"Enter lord Scales *upon the tower,* walking. Then enter two or three citizens below."—"Enter King and Queen and Somerſet *on the terrace.*"—"Enter three watchmen to guard *the King's tent.*" In *Coriolanus:* "Marcius follows them *to the gates, and is ſhut in.*" In *Timon:* "Enter Timon *in the woods.*"*—"Enter Timon *from his cave.*" In *Julius Cæſar:* "Enter Brutus *in his orchard,*" &c. &c.—In ſhort, without characteriſtick diſcriminations of place, the hiſtorical dramas of Shakſpeare in particular, would have been wrapped in tenfold confuſion and obſcurity; nor could the ſpectator have felt the poet's power, or accompanied his rapid tranſitions from one ſituation to another, without ſuch guides as painted canvas only could ſupply. The audience would with difficulty have received the cataſtrophe of Romeo and Juliet as natural and affecting, unleſs the deception was confirmed to them by the appearance of a tomb. The manager who could raiſe ghoſts, bid the cauldron ſink into the earth, and then exhibit a train of royal phantoms in *Macbeth*, could with leſs difficulty ſupply the flat paintings of a cavern or a grove. The artiſts who can put the dragons of Medea in motion, can more eaſily repreſent the clouds through which they are to paſs. But for theſe, or ſuch aſſiſtances, the ſpectator, like Hamlet's mother, muſt have bent his gaze on mortifying vacancy; and with the gueſt invited by the Barmecide, in the Arabian tale, muſt have furniſhed from his own imagination the entertainment of which his eyes were ſolicited to partake.

"It ſhould likewiſe be remembered, that the intervention of civil war would eaſily occaſion many cuſtoms of our early theatres to be ſilently forgotten. The times when Wright and Downes produced their reſpective narratives, were by no means times of exact

* Apemantus muſt have pointed to the ſcenes as he ſpoke the following lines:

"——— ſhame not *theſe* woods,
"By putting on the cunning of a carper."

Again:

"——— will *theſe* moiſt trees
"That have outliv'd the eagle," &c.

A piece of old tapeſtry muſt have been regarded as a poor ſubſtitute for theſe towering ſhades.

appear to have been ſometimes ornamented with

neſs or curioſity. What they heard might have been heard imperfectly; it might have been unſkilfully related; or their own memories might have deceived them:

'Ad nos vix tenuis famæ perlabitur aura.'

"One aſſertion made by the latter of theſe writers, is chronologically diſproved. We may remark likewiſe, that in *private* theatres, a part of the audience was admitted on the ſtage, but that this licence was refuſed in the *publick* playhouſes. To what circumſtance ſhall we impute this difference between the cuſtoms of the one and the other? Perhaps the *private* theatres had no ſcenes, the *publick* had; and a crouded ſtage would prevent them from being commodiouſly beheld, or conveniently ſhifted.* The *freſh pictures* mentioned by Ben Jonſon in the induction to his *Cynthia's Revels* might be properly introduced to cover old tapeſtry; for to hang pictures over faded arras, was then and is ſtill ſufficiently common in antiquated manſions, ſuch as thoſe in which the ſcenes of dramatick writers are often laid. That Shakſpeare himſelf was no ſtranger to the magick of theatrical ornaments, may be inferred from a paſſage in which he alludes to the ſcenery of *pageants*, the faſhionable ſhows of his time:

"Sometimes we ſee a cloud that's dragoniſh,
"A vapour ſometimes like a lion, a bear,
"A towred citadel, a pendent rock,
"A forked mountain, or blue promontory
"With trees upon't, that nod unto the world,
"And mock our eyes with air;—theſe thou haſt ſeen,
"They are black Veſper's *pageants*." †

Antony and Cleopatra.

"To conclude, the richeſt and moſt expenſive ſcenes had been introduced to dreſs up thoſe ſpurious children of the Muſe called

* To *ſhift a ſcene* is at leaſt a phraſe employed by Shakſpeare himſelf in *King Henry V*:

"——and not till then
"Unto Southampton do we *ſhift our ſcene*."

and by Ben Jonſon, yet more appoſitely, in *The Staple of News*:

"*Lic.* Have you no news o'the ſtage?
"*Tho.* O yes;
"There is a legacy left to the king's players,
"Both for their *various ſhifting of the ſcenes*,
"And dextrous change of their perſons to all ſhapes
"And all diſguiſes," &c.

† After a pageant had paſſed through the ſtreets, the characters that compoſed it were aſſembled in ſome hall or other ſpacious apartment, where they delivered their reſpective ſpeeches, and were finally ſet out to view with the advantages of proper ſcenery and decoration.

pictures;[7] and ſome paſſages in our old dramas incline me to think, that when tragedies were performed, the ſtage was hung with black.[8]

In the early part, at leaſt, of our author's acquaintance with the theatre, the want of ſcenery ſeems to have been ſupplied by the ſimple expedient of writing the names of the different places where the ſcene was laid in the progreſs of the play, which were diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as to be viſible to the audience.[9]

Maſques; nor have we ſufficient reaſon for believing that Tragedy, her legitimate offspring, continued to be expoſed in rags, while appendages more ſuitable to her dignity were known to be within the reach of our ancient managers. Shakſpeare, Burbage, and Condell, muſt have had frequent opportunities of being acquainted with the mode in which both maſques, tragedies, and comedies, were repreſented in the inns of court, the halls of noblemen, and in the palace itſelf."

[7] "Sir Crack, I am none of your freſh *pictures*, that uſe to beautify the decayed old *arras*, in a *publick theatre*." Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, by Ben Jonſon, 1601.

[8] In the Induction to an old tragedy called *A warning for fair Women*, 1599, three perſonages are introduced, under the names of *Tragedy*, *Comedy*, and *Hiſtory*. After ſome conteſt for ſuperiority, *Tragedy* prevails; and *Hiſtory* and *Comedy* retire with theſe words:

"*Hiſt.* Look, *Comedie*, I mark'd it not till now,
"*The ſtage is hung with blacke*, and I perceive
"The auditors prepar'd for *tragedie*.
"*Com.* Nay then, I ſee ſhe ſhall be entertain'd.
"Theſe ornaments beſeem not thee and me;
"Then *Tragedie*, kill them to-day with ſorrow,
"We'll make them laugh with mirthful jeſts to-morrow."

So, in Marſton's *Inſatiate Counteſs*, 1613:

"The *ſtage* of heaven is *hung* with ſolemn *black*,
"A time beſt fitting to act *tragedies*."

Again, in Daniel's *Civil Warres*, Book V. 1602:

"Let her be made the *fable ſtage*, whereon
"Shall firſt be acted bloody *tragedies*."

Again, in *King Henry VI.* Part I:

"*Hung* be the heavens with *black*," &c.

Again, more appoſitely, in *The Rape of Lucrece*, 1594:

"*Black ſtage* for *tragedies*, and murthers fell."

[9] "What child is there, that coming to a play and ſeeing *Thebes*

Though the apparatus for theatrick exhibitions was thus ſcanty, and the machinery of the ſimpleſt kind, the invention of trap-doors appears not to be modern; for in an old Morality, entitled, *All for Money*, we find a marginal direction, which implies that they were very early in uſe.[2]

We learn from Heywood's *Apology for Actors*,[3] that the covering, or internal roof, of the ſtage, was anciently termed *the heavens*. It was probably painted of a ſky-blue colour; or perhaps pieces of drapery tinged with blue were ſuſpended acroſs the ſtage, to repreſent the heavens.

It appears from the ſtage-directions[4] given in

written upon an old door, doth believe that it is Thebes?" *Defence of Poeſie*, by Sir Philip Sidney. Signat. G. 1595.

When D'Avenant introduced ſcenes on the publick ſtage, this ancient practice was ſtill followed. See his Introduction to his *Siege of Rhodes*, 1656: "In the middle of the freeſe was a compartment, wherein was *written*—RHODES."

[2] "Here—with ſome fine conveyance, *Pleaſure* ſhall appeare *from beneathe*." *All for Money*, 1578.

So, in Marſton's *Antonio's Revenge*, 1602:

"Enter Balurdo *from under the ſtage*."

In the fourth act of *Macbeth* ſeveral apparitions ariſe from beneath the ſtage, and again deſcend.—The cauldron likewiſe ſinks:

"Why *ſinks* that cauldron, and what noiſe is this?"

In *The Roaring Girl*, a comedy by Middleton and Decker, 1611, there is a character called *Trap-door*.

[3] *Apology for Actors*, 1612. Signat. D.

[4] *Spaniſh Tragedy*, 1610, Act IV. Signat. L.

"*Enter* Hieronimo. *He knocks up the curtain.*

"*Enter the duke of* Caſtile.

"*Caſt.* How now Hieronimo, where's your fellows,
"That you take all this pains?
"*Hiero.* O, ſir, it is for the author's credit
"To look that all things may go well.
"But, good my lord, let me entreat your grace,
"To give the king the copy of the play.
"This is the argument of what we ſhew.
"*Caſt.* I will, Hieronimo,

The Spaniſh Tragedy, that when a play was exhibited within a play, (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf,) as is the caſe in that piece and in *Hamlet*, the court or audience before whom the interlude was performed ſat in the balcony, or upper ſtage already deſcribed; and a curtain or traverſe being hung acroſs the ſtage *for the nonce*, the performers entered between that curtain and the general audience, and on its being drawn, began their piece, addreſſing themſelves to the balcony, and regardleſs of the ſpectators in the theatre, to whom their backs muſt have been turned during the whole of the performance.

From a plate prefixed to Kirkman's *Drolls*, printed in 1672, in which there is a view of a theatrical booth, it ſhould ſeem that the ſtage was formerly lighted by two large branches, of a form ſimilar to thoſe now hung in churches; and from Beaumont's Verſes prefixed to Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdeſs*, which was acted before the year 1611, we find that wax lights were uſed.[5]

Theſe branches having been found incommodious, as they obſtructed the ſight of the ſpectators,[6]

" *Hiero.* Let me entreat your grace, that when
" *The train are paſt into the gallery*,
" You would vouchſafe to throw me down the key.
" *Caſt.* I will, Hieronimo.
" *Enter* Balthazar, *with a chair.*
" *Hiero.* Well done, Balthazar; hang up the tilt:
" Our ſcene is Rhodes. What, is your beard on?"

Afterwards the tragedy of *Solyman and Perſeda* is exhibited before the King of Spain, the Duke of Caſtile, &c.

[5] " Some like, if the *wax lights* be new that day."

[6] Fleckno in 1664, complains of the bad lighting of the ſtage, even at that time: " Of this curious art [ſcenery] the Italians (this latter age) are the greateſt maſters; the French good proficients; and we in England only ſcholars and learners yet, having proceeded no farther than to bare painting, and not arrived to the ſtupendous wonders of your great ingeniers; eſpecially *not knowing yet how*

gave place at a ſubſequent period to ſmall circular wooden frames, furniſhed with candles, eight of which were hung on the ſtage, four at either ſide: and theſe within a few years were wholly removed by Mr. Garrick, who, on his return from France in 1765, firſt introduced the preſent commodious method of illuminating the ſtage by lights not viſible to the audience.

The body of the houſe was illuminated by creſſets,[7] or large open lanterns of nearly the ſame ſize with thoſe which are fixed in the poop of a ſhip.

If all the players whoſe names are enumerated in the firſt folio edition of our author's works, belonged to the ſame theatre, they compoſed a numerous company; but it is doubtful whether they all performed at the ſame period, or always continued in the ſame houſe.[8] Many of the companies, in the infancy of the ſtage, certainly were ſo thin, that

place our lights, for the more advantage and illuminating of the ſcenes." *Short Diſcourſe of the Engliſh Stage.*

[7] See Cotgrave's French Dictionary, 1611, in v. *Falot:* "A creſſet light, (*ſuch as they uſe in playhouſes,*) made of ropes wreathed, pitched, and put into ſmall and open cages of iron."

The Watchmen of London carried creſſets fixed on poles till 1539 (and perhaps later). Stowe's *Survey*, p. 160, edit. 1618.

[8] An actor, who wrote a pamphlet againſt Mr. Pope, ſoon after the publication of his edition of Shakſpeare, ſays, he could prove that they belonged to ſeveral different companies. It appears from the MS. Regiſter of lord Stanhope, treaſurer of the chamber to king James I, that *Joſeph Taylor*, in 1613, was at the head of a diſtinct company from that of *Heminge* called the lady Elizabeth's ſervants, who then acted at *the Hope* on the Bankſide. He was probably however, before that period, of the king's company, of which afterwards he was a principal ornament. Some of the players too, whoſe names are prefixed to the firſt folio edition of our author, were dead in the year 1600, or ſoon after; and others there enumerated, might have appeared at a ſubſequent period, to ſupply their loſs. See *the Catalogue of Actors*, poſt.

the ſame perſon played two or three parts;[9] and a battle on which the fate of an empire was ſuppoſed to depend, was decided by half a dozen combatants.[2] It appears to have been a common practice in their mock engagements, to diſcharge ſmall pieces of ordnance on or behind the ſtage.[3]

Before the exhibition began, three flouriſhes were played, or, in the ancient language, there were three ſoundings.[4] Muſick was likewiſe played between the acts.[5] The inſtruments chiefly uſed, were

9 In the Induction to Marſton's *Antonio and Mellida*, 1602, *Piero* aſks *Alberto* what part he acts. He replies, "the neceſſity of the play forceth me to act *two parts*." See alſo the *Dramatis Perſonæ* of many of our ancient plays; and below, p. 226, n. 9.

2 "And ſo our ſcene muſt to the battle fly,
"Where, O for pity! we ſhall much diſgrace
"*With four or five moſt vile and ragged foils*,
"Right ill diſpos'd, in brawl ridiculous,
"The name of Agincourt." *King Henry V.* Act IV.

3 "Much like to ſome of the players that come to the ſcaffold with drumme and trumpet, to proffer ſkirmiſh, and when they have ſounded alarme, off go the pieces, to encounter a ſhadow, or conquer a paper monſter." *Schoole of Abuſe*, by Stephen Goſſon, 1579.

So, in *The True Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke, and the Death of good King Henrie the Sixt*, 1600: "Alarmes to the battaile.—York flies; then *the chambers be diſcharged*; then enter the king," &c.

4 "Come, let's bethink ourſelves, what may be found
"To deceive time with, till the *ſecond ſound*."
Notes from Black-fryars, by H. Fitz-Jeoffery, 1617.

See alſo the Addreſs to the readers, prefixed to Decker's *Satiromaſtix*, a comedy, 1602: "Inſtead of the *trumpets ſounding thrice* before the play begin," &c.

5 See the Prologue to *Hannibal and Scipio*, a tragedy, 1637:
"The places ſometimes chang'd too for the ſcene,
"Which is tranſlated, as the muſick plays
"Betwixt the acts."

The practice appears to have prevailed in the infancy of our ſtage. See the concluding lines of the ſecond act of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, 1575:

trumpets, cornets, hautboys, lutes, recorders, viols, and organs.[6] The band, which, I believe, did not conſiſt of more than eight or ten performers, ſat (as I have been told by a very ancient ſtage-veteran, who had his information from Boman, the contemporary of Betterton,) in an upper balcony, over what is now called the ſtage-box.[7]

From Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript I learn, that the muſicians belonging to Shakſpeare's company were obliged to pay the Maſter of the

" In the towne will I, my frendes to vyſit there,
" And hether ſtraight again, to ſee the end of this gere:
" *In the mean time, felowes, pipe upp your fiddles,* I ſay take them,
" And let your freyndes here ſuch mirth as ye can make them."

It has been thought by ſome that our author's dramas were exhibited without any pauſes, in an unbroken continuity of ſcenes. But this appears to be a miſtake. In a copy of *Romeo and Juliet*, 1599, now before me, which certainly belonged to the playhouſe, the endings of the acts are marked in the margin; and directions are given for muſick to be played between each act. The marginal directions in this copy appear to be of a very old date, one of them being in the ancient ſtyle and hand—" *Playe muſicke.*"

[6] See the ſtage-directions in Marſton's *Sophoniſba*, acted at the Blackfriars theatre, in 1606:

" The ladies draw the curtains about Sophoniſba;—the *cornets* and *organs* playing loud full muſicke for the act. Signat. B 4.
" *Organ* mixt with *recorders*, for this act. Signat. D 2.
" *Organs*, *viols*, and voices, play for this act. Signat. E 2.
" A baſe *lute* and a treble viol play for this act." Signat. F 2

[7] In the laſt ſcene of Maſſinger's *City Madam*, which was firſt acted at Blackfriars, May 25, 1632, Orpheus is introduced chanting thoſe raviſhing ſtrains with which he moved

" Charon and Cerberus, to give him way
" To fetch from hell his loſt Eurydice."

The following ſtage-direction, which is found in the preceding ſcene, ſupports what has been ſuggeſted above, concerning the ſtation of the muſicians in our ancient theatres: " Muſicians *come down*, [i. e. *are* to come down,] to make ready for the ſong at Arras." This ſong was to be ſung behind the arras.

Revels an annual fee for a licence to play in the theatre.[8]

Not very long after our poet's death the Blackfriars' band was more numerous;[9] and their reputation was ſo high as to be noticed by Sir Bulſtrode Whitelocke, in an account which he has left of the ſplendid Maſque given by the four Inns of Court on the ſecond of February, 1633-4, entitled *The Triumph of Peace*, and intended, as he himſelf informs us, "to manifeſt the difference of their opinion from Mr. Prynne's new learning, and to confute his *Hiſtriomaſtix* againſt interludes."

A very particular account of this maſque is found in his *Memorials*; but that which Dr. Burney has lately given in his very curious and elegant *Hiſtory of Muſick*,[a] from a manuſcript in the poſſeſſion of Dr. Moreton, of the Britiſh Muſeum, contains ſome minute particulars not noticed in the former printed account, and among others an eulogy on our poet's band of muſicians.

"For the Muſicke," ſays Whitelocke, "which was particularly committed to my charge, I gave to Mr. Ives, and to Mr. Lawes, 100l. a piece for their rewards: for the four French gentlemen, the queen's ſervants, I thought that a handſome and liberall gratifying of them would be made known to the queen, their miſtris, and well taken by her. I therefore invited them one morning to a collation

[8] "For a warrant to the Muſitions of the king's company, this 9th of April, 1627,—£.1. 0. 0." MS. Herbert.

[9] In a warrant of protection now before me, ſigned by Sir Henry Herbert, and dated from the Office of the Revels, Dec. 27, 1624, Nicholas Underhill, Robert Pallant, John Rhodes, and ſeventeen others, are mentioned as being "all imployed by the kings Ma.ties ſervants in theire quallity of playinge as muſitions, and other neceſſary attendants."

[a] Vol. III. p. 376.

att St. Dunſtan's taverne, in the great room, the Oracle of Apollo, where each of them had his plate lay'd by him, covered, and the napkin by it, and when they opened their plates, they found in each of them forty pieces of gould, of their maſter's coyne, for the firſt diſh, and they had cauſe to be much pleaſed with this ſurpriſall.

" The reſt of the muſitians had rewards anſwearable to their parts and qualities; and the whole charge of the muſicke came to about one thouſand pounds. The clothes of the horſemen reckoned one with another at £.100 a ſuit, att the leaſt, amounted to £.10,000.—The charges of all the reſt of the maſque, which were borne by the ſocieties, were accounted to be above twenty thouſand pounds.

" I was ſo converſant with the muſitians, and ſo willing to gain their favour, eſpecially at this time, that I compoſed an aier my ſelfe, with the aſſiſtance of Mr. Ives, and called it *Whitelocke's Coranto*; which being cried up, was firſt played publiquely by the Blackefryars Muſicke, *who were then eſteemed the beſt of common muſitians in London.* Whenever I came to that houſe, (as I did ſometimes in thoſe dayes, though not often,) to ſee a play, the muſitians would preſently play *Whitelocke's Coranto*; and it was ſo often called for, that they would have it played twice or thrice in an afternoone. The queen hearing it, would not be perſuaded that it was made by an Engliſhman, bicauſe ſhe ſaid it was fuller of life and ſpirit than the Engliſh aiers uſed to be; butt ſhe honoured the *Coranto* and the maker of it with her majeſtyes royall commendation. It grew to that requeſt, that all the common muſitians in this towne, and all over the kingdome, gott the compoſition of itt, and played it publiquely in all places for above thirtie years after."

The ſtage, in Shakſpeare's time ſeems to have been ſeparated from the pit only by pales.[3] Soon after the Reſtoration, the band, I imagine, took the ſtation which they have kept ever ſince, in an orcheſtra placed between the ſtage and the pit.[4]

The perſon who ſpoke the prologue, who entered immediately after the third ſounding,[5] uſually wore a long black velvet cloak,[6] which, I ſuppoſe, was

3 "And now that I have vaulted up ſo hye,
"Above the *ſtage-rayles* of this earthen *globe*,
"I muſt turn actor." *Black Booke*, 4to. 1604.
See alſo D'Avenant's *Playhouſe to be let:*
"Monſieur, you may draw up your troop of forces
"Within *the pales*."

4 See the firſt direction in *The Tempeſt*, altered by D'Avenant and Dryden, and acted at the Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, in 1667:
"The front of the ſtage is opened, and the band of twenty-four violins, with the harpſicals and theorbos, which accompany the voices, are placed *between the pit and the ſtage*." If this had not been a novel regulation, the direction would have been unneceſſary.
Cotgrave in his Dictionary, 1611, following the idea of ancient Rome, defines *Orcheſtre*, "The ſenators' or noblemens' places in a theatre, between the ſtage and the common ſeats. Alſo the ſtage itſelf." If muſicians had ſet in this place, when he wrote, or the term *orcheſtre*, in its preſent ſenſe, had been then known, there is reaſon to believe that he would have noticed it. See his interpretation of *Falot*, above, in p. 219, n. 7.
The word *orcheſtre* is not found in Minſheu's Dict. nor Bullokar's *Expoſitor*.
In Cockeram's *Interpreter of hard Words*, 1655, it is defined *a ſcaffold*.

5 "Preſent not your ſelfe on the ſtage, (eſpecially at a new play) untill the quaking *prologue* hath by rubbing got cullor into his cheeks, and is ready to give the *trumpets* their cue, that he's upon the point to enter." Decker's *Gul's Hornebook*, 1609.

6 See the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601:
"1. *Child*. Pray you, away; why children what do you mean?
"2. *Child*. Marry, that you ſhould not ſpeak the prologue.
"1. *Child*. Sir, I plead poſſeſſion of the *cloak*. Gentlemen, your ſuffrages, for God's ſake."

conſidered as beſt ſuited to a ſupplicatory addreſs. Of this cuſtom, whatever may have been its origin, ſome traces remained till very lately; a black coat having been, if I miſtake not, within theſe few years, the conſtant ſtage-habiliment of our modern prologue-ſpeakers. The complete dreſs of the ancient prologue-ſpeaker is ſtill retained in the play exhibited in *Hamlet*, before the king and court of Denmark.

An epilogue does not appear to have been a regular appendage to a play in Shakſpeare's time; for many of his dramas had none; at leaſt, they have not been preſerved. In *All's Well that Ends Well*, *A Midſummer Night's Dream*, *As you like it*, *Troilus and Creſſida*, and *The Tempeſt*, the epilogue is ſpoken by one of the perſons of the drama, and adapted to the character of the ſpeaker; a circumſtance that I have not obſerved in the epilogues of any other author of that age. The epilogue was not always ſpoken by one of the performers in the piece; for that ſubjoined to *The Second part of King Henry IV.* appears to have been delivered by a dancer.

The performers of male characters frequently

So, in the prologue to *The Coronation*, by Shirley, 1640:

" Since 'tis become the title of our play,
" A woman once in a coronation may
" With pardon ſpeak the prologue, give as free
" A welcome to the theatre, as he
" That with a little beard, a *long black cloak*,
" With a ſtarch'd face and ſupple leg, hath ſpoke
" Before the plays this twelvemonth, let me then
" Preſent a welcome to theſe gentlemen."

Again, in the prologue to *The Woman-Hater*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, 1607: " Gentlemen, inductions are out of date, and a prologue in verſe is as ſtale as a *black velvet cloake*, and a bay garlande."

wore periwigs[7] which in the age of Shakſpeare were not in common uſe.[8] It appears from a paſſage in Puttenham's *Arte of Engliſh Poeſie*, 1589, that vizards were on ſome occaſions uſed by the actors of thoſe days;[9] and it may be inferred from a ſcene in one of our author's comedies, that they were ſometimes worn in his time, by thoſe who performed female characters.[2] But this, I imagine, was very rare. Some of the female part of the audience likewiſe appeared in maſks.[3]

[7] See *Hamlet*, Act III. ſc. ii: "O, it offends me to the ſoul, to hear a robuſtious *periwig*-pated fellow tear a paſſion to tatters."
So, in *Every Woman in her Humour*, 1609: "As none wear hoods but monks and ladies,—and feathers but fore-horſes, &c. *none periwigs* but *players* and pictures."

[8] In Hall's *Virgidemiarum*, 1597, Lib. III. Sat. 5, the faſhion of wearing periwigs is ridiculed as a novel and fantaſtick cuſtom:

"Late travailing along in London way,
"Mee met, as ſeem'd by his *diſguis'd* array,
"A luſtie courtier, whoſe curled head
"With abron locks was fairely furniſhed;
"I him ſaluted in our laviſh wiſe;
"He anſwers my untimely courteſies.
"His bonnet veil'd—or ever he could think,
"The unruly winde blowes off his *periwinke*.
"He lights and runs, and quickly hath him ſped,
"To over-take his over-running head.—
"Is't not ſweet pride, when men their crownes muſt ſhade
"With that which jerks the hams of every jade;
"Or floor-ſtrow'd locks from off the barber's ſhears?
"But waxen crownes well gree with borrowed haires."

[9] "——partly (ſays he) to ſupply the want of players, when there were more parts than there were perſons."

[2] In *A Midſummer Night's Dream*, Flute objects to his playing a woman's part, becauſe he has "a beard a coming." But his friend Quince tells him, "that's all one; you ſhall play it in a *maſk*, and you may ſpeak as ſmall as you will."

[3] "In our aſſemblies at playes in London, (ſays Goſſon, in his *Schoole of Abuſe*, 1579, Signat, C.) you ſhall ſee ſuch heaving and ſhoving, ſuch ytching and ſhould'ring to ſitte by women, ſuch

Both the prompter, or book-holder, as he was ſometimes called, and the property-man, appear to have been regular appendages of our ancient theatres.[4]

care for their garments, that they be not trode on; ſuch eyes to their lappes, that no chippes light in them; ſuch pillows to their backes, that they take no hurte; ſuch *maſking* in their ears, I know not what; ſuch giving them pippins to paſs the time; ſuch playing at foot-ſaunte without cardes; ſuch licking, ſuch toying, ſuch ſmiling, ſuch winking, ſuch manning them home when the ſports are ended, that it is a right comedie to mark their behaviour."

So alſo, the prologue to Marſton's *Fawne*, 1606:

" ——— nor doth he hope to win
" Your laud or hand with that moſt common ſin
" Of vulgar pens, rank bawdry, that ſmells
" Even through your *maſks*, *uſque ad nauſeam*."

Again, in his *Scourge of Villainie*, 1599:

" ——— Diſguiſed Meſſaline,
" I'll teare thy *maſke*, and bare thee to the eyne
" Of hiſſing boyes, if to the *theatres*
" I find thee once more come for lecherers."

Again, in B. Jonſon's verſes, addreſſed to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdeſs*:

" The wiſe and many-headed bench that ſits
" Upon the life and death of plays and wits,
" Compos'd of gameſter, captain, knight, knights man,
" *Lady* or *puſil*, that wears *maſke* or fan,
" Velvet or taffata cap, rank'd in the dark
" With the ſhops foreman, or ſome ſuch brave ſparke,
" (That may judge for his *ſix-pence*) had, before
" They ſaw it half, damn'd thy whole play."

After the Reſtoration, maſks, I believe were chiefly worn in the theatre, by women of the town. Wright complains of the great number of maſks in his time: " Of late the play-houſes are ſo extremely peſtered with vizard-*maſks* and their trade, (occaſioning continual quarrels and abuſes) that many of the more civilized part of the town are uneaſy in the company, and ſhun the theatre as they would a houſe of ſcandal." *Hiſt. Hiſtrion.* 1699, p. 6.

Ladies of unblemiſhed character, however, wore maſks in the boxes, in the time of Congreve. In the epilogue to Durfey's comedy called *The old Mode and the New*, (no date,) the ſpeaker points to the maſks in the *ſide boxes*: but I am not ſure whether what are now called the Balconies were not meant.

[4] " I aſſure you, ſir, we are not ſo officiouſly befriended by

The ſtage-dreſſes, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, were much more coſtly in ſome playhouſes than others. Yet the wardrobe of even the king's ſervants at *The Globe*[4] and *Blackfriars* was, we find, but ſcantily furniſhed; and our author's dramas derived very little aid from the ſplendour of exhibition.[5]

It is well known, that in the time of Shakſpeare, and for many years afterwards, female characters were repreſented ſolely by boys or young men. Naſhe in a pamphlet publiſhed in 1592, ſpeaking in defence of the Engliſh ſtage, *boaſts* that the players of his time were "not as the players beyond ſea, a ſort of ſquirting bawdie comedians, that have whores and common curtizans to play women's parts."[6] What Naſhe conſidered as an high eulogy on his country, Prynne has made one

him, [the author,] as to have his preſence in the tiring-houſe, to prompt us aloud, ſtamp at the *book-holder*, ſwear for our properties, curſe the poor *tire-man*, rayle the muſicke out of tune," &c. Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601.

[5] See the induction to Ben Jonſon's *Staple of News*, acted by the king's ſervants, 1625:

"O *Curioſity*, you come to ſee who wears the new ſuit to-day; whoſe cloaths are beſt pen'd, whatever the part be; which actor has the beſt leg and foot; what king plays *without cuffs*, and his queen *without gloves*: who rides poſt *in ſtockings*, and dances *in boots*."

It is, however, one of Prynne's arguments againſt the ſtage, in the invective which he publiſhed about eight years after the date of this piece, that "the ordinary theatrical interludes were uſually acted in *over-coſtly*, effeminate, fantaſtick, and *gawdy* apparel." *Hiſtriomaſt.* p. 216. But little credit is to be given to that voluminous zealot, on a queſtion of this kind. As the frequenters of the theatre were little better than *incarnate devils*, and the muſick in churches the *bleating of brute beaſts*, ſo a piece of coarſe ſtuff trimmed with tinſel was probably in his opinion a moſt ſplendid and *ungodly* dreſs.

[6] *Pierce Pennileſs his Supplication to the Devil*, 4to. 1592.

of his principal charges againſt the Engliſh ſtage; having employed ſeveral pages in his bulky volume, and quoted many hundred authorities, to prove that "thoſe playes wherein any men act women's parts in woman's apparell muſt needs be ſinful, yea, abominable unto chriſtians."[7] The grand baſis of his argument is a text in ſcripture; *Deuteronomy*, xxii. 5: "The woman ſhall not wear that which pertaineth unto man, neither ſhall a man put on a woman's garment:" a precept, which Sir Richard Baker has juſtly remarked, is no part of the moral law, and ought not to be underſtood literally. "Where," ſays Sir Richard, "finds he this precept? Even in the ſame place where he finds alſo that we muſt not weare cloaths of linſey-woolſey: and ſeeing we lawfully now wear cloaths of linſey-woolſey, why may it not be as lawful for men to put on women's garments?"[8]

It may perhaps be ſuppoſed that Prynne, having thus vehemently inveighed againſt men's repreſenting female characters on the ſtage, would not have been averſe to the introduction of women in the ſcene; but ſinful as this zealot thought it in *men* to aſſume the garments of the other ſex, he conſidered it as not leſs abominable in *women* to tread the ſtage in their own proper dreſs: for he

[7] *Hiſtriomaſtix*, 4to. 1633, p. 179.

[8] *Theatrum Triumphans*, 8vo. 1670, p. 16. Martin Luther's comment on this text is as follows: "Hic non prohibetur quin ad vitandum periculum, aut ludendum joco, vel ad fallendum hoſtes mulier poſſit gerere arma viri, et vir uti veſte muliebri; ſed ut ſerio et uſitato habitu talia non fiant, ut decora utrique ſexui ſervetur dignitas." And the learned Jeſuit, Lorin, concurs with him: "Diſſimulatio veſtis poteſt interdum ſine peccato fieri, vel ad repreſentandam comice tragiceve perſonam, vel ad effugiendum periculum, vel in caſu ſimili." Ibid. p. 19.

informs us, " that ſome Frenchwomen, or *monſters* rather, in Michaelmas term, 1629, attempted to act a French play at the playhouſe in Blackfriers," which he repreſents as " an impudent, ſhameful, unwomaniſh, graceleſs, if not more than *whoriſh* attempt."[9]

[9] *Hiſtriomaſtix*, p. 414. He there calls it only an *attempt*, but in a former page (215) he ſays, " they have now their female players in Italy and other foreigne parts, as they had ſuch French women actors in a play not long ſince perſonated in Blackfriers playhouſe, to *which there was great reſort*." In the margin he adds —" in Michaelmas terme, 1629." His account is confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book, in which I find the following notice of this exhibition:

" For the allowinge of a French company to playe a farſe at Blackfryers, this 4 of November, 1629,—£.2. 0. 0."

The ſame company attempted an exhibition both at the Red Bull and the Fortune theatres, as appears from the following entries:

" For allowinge of the Frenche [company] at the Red Bull for a daye, 22 Novemb. 1629,—[£.2. 0. 0.]

" For allowinge of a Frenche companie att the Fortune to play one afternoone, this 14 day of Decemb. 1629,—£.1. 0. 0.

" I ſhould have had another peece, but in reſpect of their ill fortune, I was content to beſtow a peece back." MS. Herbert.

Prynne, in conformity to the abſurd notions which have been ſtated in the text, inſerted in his Index theſe words: " *Women actors notorious whores:*" by which he ſo highly offended the king and queen, that he was tried in the Star-chamber, and ſentenced to be impriſoned for life, fined 5000l. expelled Lincoln's Inn, diſbarred and diſqualified to practiſe the law, degraded of his degree in the univerſity, to be ſet on the pillory, his ears cut off, and his book burnt by the common hangman, " which *rigorous* ſentence," ſays Whitelocke, " was as rigorouſly executed." I quote theſe words as given by Dr. Burney from Whitelocke's Manuſcript. It is remarkable that in his printed MEMORIALS the word *rigorous* is omitted; from which there is reaſon to believe that the editor in 1682 took ſome liberties with the manuſcript from which that book was printed. The words there are, " —— *which ſentence* was as *ſeverely* executed."

In p. 708 of Prynne's book is the following note, the inſertion of which probably incenſed their majeſties, who often performed in the court-maſques, not leſs than what has been already mentioned:

Soon after the period he ſpeaks of, a regular French theatre was eſtabliſhed in London, where without doubt women acted.[2] They had long be-

" It is *infamous* in this author's judgment [Dion Caſſius] for emperors or perſons of quality to *dance upon a ſtage*, or act a play."

[2] In the Office-book of Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, I find a warrant for payment of 10l. " to Joſias Floridor for himſelfe and the reſt of the French players, for a tragedy by them acted before his Majeſtie in Dec. laſt." Dated Jan. 8, 1635-6. Their houſe had been licenſed, April 18, 1635. I find alſo " £.10. paid to John Navarro for himſelf and the reſt of the company of *Spaniſh* players, for a play preſented before his Majeſtie, Dec. 23, 1635."

We have already ſeen that Henrietta Maria had a precedent for introducing the comedians of her own country into England, King Henry the Seventh having likewiſe had a company of French players.

Sir Henry Herbert's manuſcript furniſhes us with the following notices on this ſubject:

" On tueſday night the 17 of February, 1634, [1634-5,] a Frenche company of players, being aproved of by the queene at her houſe too nights before, and commended by her majeſty to the kinge, were admitted to the Cockpitt in Whitehall, and there preſented the king and queene with a Frenche comedy called *Meliſe*, with good approbation: for which play the king gives them ten pounds.

" This day being Friday, and the 20 of the ſame monthe, the kinge tould mee his pleaſure, and commanded mee to give order that this Frenche company ſhould playe the too ſermon daies in the weeke, during their time of playinge in Lent, and in the houſe of Drury-lane, where the queenes players uſually playe.

" The kings pleaſure I ſignifyed to Mr. Beeſton, [the Manager of Drury-lane theatre,] the ſame day, who obeyd readily.

" The houſe-keepers are to give them by promiſe the benefit of their intereſt for the two days of the firſt weeke.

" They had the benefitt of playinge on the ſermon daies, and gott two hundred pounds at leaſt; beſides many rich clothes were given them.

" They had freely to themſelves the whole weeke before the weeke before Eaſter, which I obtaynd of the king for them.

" The 4 Aprill, on Eaſter monday, they playd the *Trompeur puny*, with better approbation than the other.

" On Wenſday night the 16 Aprill, 1635, the French playd *Alcimedor* with good aprobation."

fore appeared on the Italian as well as the French ſtage. When Coryate was at Venice, [July, 1608,] he tells us, he was at one of their playhouſes, and ſaw a comedy acted. "The houſe, (he adds) is very beggarly and baſe, in compariſon of our ſtately playhouſes in England; neither can their actors compare with us for apparell, ſhewes, and muſicke. Here I obſerved certaine things that I never ſaw before; for I ſaw women act, a thing that I never ſaw before, though I have heard that it hath been ſome

In a marginal note Sir Henry Herbert adds, "The Frenche offered mee a preſent of £.10; but I refuſed itt, and did them many other curteſys, *gratis*, to render the queene my miſtris an acceptable ſervice."

It appears from a ſubſequent paſſage, that in the following month a theatre was erected expreſsly for this troop of comedians.

"A warrant granted to Joſias d'Aunay, Hurſries de Lau, and others, for to act playes at a new houſe in Drury-lane, during pleaſure. ye 5 may, 1635.

"The king was pleaſed to commande my Lord Chamberlain to direct his warrant to Monſieur Le Fevure, to give him a power to contract with the Frenchemen for to builde a playhouſe in the manage-houſe, which was done accordinglye by my adviſe and allowance."

"Thes Frenchmen," Sir Henry adds in the margin, "were commended unto mee by the queene, and have paſt through my handes, *gratis*."

They did not however paſs quite free, for from a ſubſequent entry it appears, that "they gave Blagrave [Sir Henry's deputy] three pounds for his paines."

In the following December the French paſtoral of *Florimene* was acted at court by the young ladies who attended the queen from France.

"The paſtorall of *Florimene*, (ſays Sir Henry) with the deſcription of the ſceanes and interludes, as it was ſent mee by Mr. Inigo Jones, I allowed for the preſs, this 14 of Decemb. 1635. The paſtorall is in French, and 'tis the argument only, put into Engliſh, that I have allowed to be printed.

"Le paſterale de Florimene fuſt repreſenté devant le roy et la royne, le prince Charles, et le prince Palatin, le 21 Decem. jour de St. Thomas, par les filles Françoiſe de la royne, et firent tres bien, dans la grande ſale de Whitehall, aux depens de la royne." MS. Herbert.

times uſed in London; and they performed it with as good a grace, action, geſture, and whatſoever convenient for a player, as ever I ſaw any maſculine actor."[3]

The practice of men's performing the parts of women in the ſcene is of the higheſt antiquity. On the Grecian ſtage no woman certainly ever *acted*. From Plutarch's Life of Phocion, we learn, that in his time (about three hundred and eighteen years before the Chriſtian era) the performance of a tragedy at Athens was interrupted for ſome time by one of the actors, who was to perſonate a *queen*, refuſing to come on the ſtage, becauſe he had not a ſuitable maſk and dreſs, and a train of attendants richly habited; and Demoſthenes in one of his orations,[4] mentions Theodorus and Ariſtodemus as having often repreſented the Antigone of Sophocles.[5]

[3] Coryate's *Crudities*, 4to. 1611, p. 247. I have found no ground for this writer's aſſertion, that female performers had appeared on the Engliſh ſtage before he wrote.

[4] De fals. leg. Tom. II. p. 199, edit. Taylor.

[5] See alſo Lucian. de Salt. II. 285, edit. Hemſterhuſii. "Becauſe" (ſays that lively writer) "at firſt you preferred tragedy and comedy and vagrant fidlers and ſinging to the harpe, before dancing, calling them truly exerciſes, and therefore commendable, let us, I pray, compare them ſeverally with dancing. Where, if it pleaſe you, we will paſs the pipe and harpe as parts and inſtruments of dancing, and conſider tragedy as it is; firſt, according to its propertyes and dreſs. What a deformed and frightfull ſight is it, to ſee a man raiſed to a prodigious length, ſtalking upon exalted buſkins, his face diſguiſed with a grimme vizard, widely gaping, as if he meant to devour the ſpectators? I forbear to ſpeake of his ſtuft breſts, and fore-bellyes, which make an adventitious and artificial corpulency, leſt his unnatural length ſhould carry diſproportion to his ſlenderneſſe: as alſo his clamour from within, when he breakes open and unlockes himſelfe; when he howles iambicks, and moſt ridiculouſly ſings his own ſufferings, and renders himſelf by his very tone odious. For as for the reſt, they are inventions of ancient poets. Yet as long as he perſonates only ſome *Andromache* and *Hecuba*, his ſinging is tolerable. But for a Hercules to enter

This fact is alſo aſcertained by an anecdote preſerved by Aulus Gellius. A very celebrated actor, whoſe name was Polus, was appointed to perform the part of Electra in Sophocles's play; who in the progreſs of the drama appears with an urn in her hands, containing, as ſhe ſuppoſes, the aſhes of Oreſtes. The actor having ſome time before been deprived by death of a beloved ſon, to indulge his grief, as it ſhould ſeem, procured the urn which contained the aſhes of his child, to be brought from his tomb; which affected him ſo much, that when he appeared with it on the ſcene, he embraced it with unfeigned ſorrow, and burſt into tears.[6]

That on the Roman ſtage alſo female parts were repreſented by men in tragedy, is aſcertained by

dolefully ſinging, and to forget himſelf, and neither to regard his lyons ſkynne, nor clubbe, muſt needs appear to any judging man a ſoleciſme. And whereas you diſlike that in dancing men ſhould act women; this is a reprehenſion, which holds for tragedies and comedyes too, in which are more womens parts, then mens." *Dialogue on dancing*, tranſlated by Jaſper Mayne, folio, 1664.

[6] Hiſtrio in terra Græcia fuit fama celebri, qui geſtus et vocis claritudine et venuſtate cæteris anteſtabat. Nomen fuiſſe aiunt Polum; tragœdias poetarum nobilium ſcite atque aſſeverate actitavit. Is Polus unice amatum filium morte amiſit. Eum luctum quum ſatis viſus eſt eluxiſſe, rediit ad quæſtum artis. In eo tempore Athenis Electram Sophoclis acturus, geſtare urnam quaſi cum Oreſti oſſibus debebat. Ita compoſitum fabulæ argumentum eſt, ut veluti fratris reliquias ferens Electra comploret commiſeraturque interitum ejus, qui per vim extinctus exiſtimatur. Igitur Polus lugubri habitu Electræ indutus oſſa atque urnam a ſepulchro tulit filii, et quaſi Oreſti amplexus opplevit omnia non ſimulachris neque imitamentis, ſed luctu atque lamentis veris et ſpirantibus. Itaque quum agi fabula videretur, dolor accitus eſt." Aul. Gel. Lib. VII. c. v.

Olivet in a note on one of Cicero's letters to Atticus, (Lib. IV. c. xv.) mentions a ſimilar anecdote of a mime called *Seia*, for which he quotes the authority of Plutarch; but no ſuch perſon is mentioned by that writer. Seia, according to Olivet, performed the part of Andromache. I ſuſpect he meant to cite *Petrarch*.—Seia probably repreſented Andromache in a tragick pantomime.

one of Cicero's letters to Atticus, in which he ſpeaks of Antipho,[7] who performed the part of Andromache; and by a paſſage in Horace, who informs us, that Fuſius Phocæus being to perform the part of Ilione, the wife of Polymneſtor, in a tragedy written either by Accius or Pacuvius, and being in the courſe of the play to be awakened out of ſleep by the cries of the ſhade of Polydorus, got ſo drunk, that he fell into a real and profound ſleep, from which no noiſe could rouſe him.[8]

Horace indeed mentions a female performer, called Arbuſcula;[9] but as we find from his own authority that men perſonated women on the Roman ſtage, ſhe probably was only an *emboliaria*, who performed in the interludes and dances exhibited between the acts and at the end of the play. Servius[2] calls her *mima*, but that may mean nothing more than one who acted in the *mimes*, or danced in the pantomime dances;[3] and this ſeems the more probable from the manner in which ſhe is mentioned by Cicero, from whom we learn that the part of Andromache was performed by a male actor on that very day when Arbuſcula exhibited with the higheſt applauſe.[4]

[7] Epiſtol. ad Atticum, Lib. IV. c. xv.

[8] " Non magis audivit quam Fufius ebrius olim,
" Cum Ilionam edormit, Catienis mille ducentis,
" *Mater te appello*, clamantibus." Sat. Lib. II. Sat. iii. Compare Cicero, *Tuſculan.* I. 44.

[9] " —— ſatis eſt equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax
" Contemptis aliis exploſa *Arbuſcula* dixit." Lib. I. Sat. x.

[2] In eclog. x.

[3] Sunt *Mimi*, ut ait Claudianus, qui lætis ſalibus facete riſum movent; *Pantomimi* vero, ut idem ait, " nutu manibuſque loquaces." Vet. Schol.

[4] Epiſtol. ad Atticum, L. IV. c. xv.

The ſame practice prevailed in the time of the emperors; for in the liſt of parts which Nero, with a prepoſterous ambition, acted in the publick theatre, we find that of Canace, who was repreſented in labour on the ſtage.[5]

In the interludes exhibited between the acts undoubtedly women appeared. The elder Pliny informs us, that a female named Lucceïa acted in theſe interludes for an hundred years; and Galeria Copiola for above ninety years; having been firſt introduced on the ſcene in the fourteenth year of her age, in the year of Rome 672, when Caius Marius the younger, and Cneius Carbo were conſuls, and having performed in the 104th year of her age, ſix years before the death of Auguſtus, in the conſulate of C. Poppæus and Quintus Sulpicius, A. U. C. 762.[6]

Eunuchs alſo ſometimes repreſented women on the Roman ſtage, as they do at this day in Italy; for we find that Sporus, who made ſo conſpicuous a figure in the time of Nero, being appointed in the year 70, [A. U. C. 823] to perſonate a nymph, who, in an interlude exhibited before Vitellius, was to be carried off by a raviſher, rather than endure the indignity of wearing a female dreſs on the ſtage, put himſelf to death:[7] a ſingular end for one, who about ten years before had been publickly eſpouſed to Nero, in the hymeneal veil, and had been carried through one of the ſtreets of Rome by the ſide of that monſter, in the imperial robes of the empreſſes, ornamented with a profuſion of jewels.

[5] Sueton. in Nerone, c. xxi.

[6] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. VIII. c. xlviii.

[7] Xiphilini Vitel. p. 209, edit. H. Stephani, folio, 1592.

Thus ancient was the uſage, which, though not adopted in the neighbouring countries of France and Italy, prevailed in England from the infancy of the ſtage. The prejudice againſt women appearing on the ſcene continued ſo ſtrong, that till near the time of the Reſtoration, boys conſtantly performed female characters; and, ſtrange as it may now appear, the old practice was not deſerted without many apologies for the *indecorum* of the novel uſage. In 1659 or 1660, in imitation of the foreign theatres, women were firſt introduced on the ſcene. In 1656, indeed, Mrs. Coleman, the wife of Mr. Edward Coleman, repreſented *Ianthe* in the Firſt Part of D'Avenant's *Siege of Rhodes*; but the little ſhe had to ſay was ſpoken in recitative. The firſt woman that appeared in any regular drama on a publick ſtage, performed the part of Deſdemona; but who the lady was, I am unable to aſcertain. The play of *Othello* is enumerated by Downes as one of the ſtock-plays of the king's company on their opening their theatre in Drury-lane in April 1663; and it appears from a paper found with Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book, and indorſed by him,[7] that it was one of the ſtock-plays of the ſame company from the time they began to play without a patent at the Red Bull in St. John-ſtreet. Mrs. Hughs performed the part of Deſdemona in 1663, when the company removed to Drury-lane, and obtained the title of the king's ſervants; but whether ſhe performed with them while they played at the Red Bull, or in Vere-ſtreet, near Claremarket, has not been aſcertained. Perhaps Mrs. Saunderſon made her firſt eſſay there, though ſhe afterwards

[7] See the liſt of plays belonging to the Red Bull, in a ſubſequent page, *ad ann.* 1660.

was enliſted in D'Avenant's company. The received tradition is, that ſhe was the firſt Engliſh actreſs.[8] The verſes which were ſpoken by way of introducing a female to the audience, were written by Thomas Jordan, and being only found in a very ſcarce miſcellany,[9] I ſhall here tranſcribe them:

" *A Prologue, to introduce the firſt woman that came to act on the ſtage, in the tragedy called* The Moor of Venice.

" I come, unknown to any of the reſt,
" To tell you news; I ſaw the lady dreſt:
" The woman plays to-day: miſtake me not,
" No man in gown, or page in petticoat:
" A woman to my knowledge; yet I can't,
" If I ſhould die, make affidavit on't.
" Do you not twitter, gentlemen? I know
" You will be cenſuring: do it fairly though.
" 'Tis *poſſible* a virtuous woman may
" Abhor all ſorts of looſeneſs, and yet play;

[8] Mrs. Saunderſon (afterwards Mrs. Betterton) played Juliet, Ophelia, and, I believe, Cordelia.

It ſhould ſeem from the 22d line of the Epilogue ſpoken on the occaſion, that the lady who performed Deſdemona was an unmarried woman. Mrs. Hughs was married. The principal unmarried actreſs in the King's company appears to have been Mrs. Marſhall, who is ſaid to have been afterwards ſeduced under a pretence of marriage by Aubrey de Vere, earl of Oxford, and who might have been the original female performer of Deſdemona. At that time every unmarried woman bore the title of Miſtreſs.

It is ſaid in a book of no authority, (Curl's *Hiſtory of the Stage*,) and has been repeated in various other compilations, that Mrs. Norris, the mother of the celebrated comedian known by the name of *Jubilee Dicky*, was the firſt actreſs who appeared on the Engliſh ſtage: but this is highly improbable. Mrs. Norris, who was in D'Avenant's company, certainly had appeared in 1662, but ſhe was probably not young; for ſhe played *Goody Fells*, in *Town Shifts*, a comedy acted in 1671, and the *Nurſe* in *Reformation*, acted in 1675.

[9] *A Royal Arbour of Loyal Poeſie*, by Thomas Jordan, no date, but printed, I believe, in 1662. Jordan was an actor as well as a poet.

" Play on the ſtage,—where all eyes are upon her:—
" Shall we count that a crime, France counts an honour?
" In other kingdoms huſbands ſafely truſt 'em;
" The difference lies only in the cuſtom.
" And let it be our cuſtom, I adviſe;
" I'm ſure this cuſtom's better than th' exciſe,
" And may procure *us* cuſtom: hearts of flint
" Will melt in paſſion, when a woman's in't.

" But gentlemen, you that as judges ſit
" In the ſtar-chamber of the houſe, the pit,
" Have modeſt thoughts of her; pray, do not run
" To give her viſits when the play is done,
" With '*damn me, your moſt humble ſervant, lady*;'
" She knows theſe things as well as you, it may be:
" Not a bit there, dear gallants, ſhe doth know
" Her own deſerts,—and your temptations too.—
" But to the point:—In this reforming age
" We have intents to civilize the ſtage.
" Our women are defective, and ſo fiz'd,
" You'd think they were ſome of the guard diſguis'd;
" For, to ſpeak truth, men act, that are between
" Forty and fifty, wenches of fifteen;
" With bone ſo large and nerve ſo incompliant,
" When you call DESDEMONA, enter GIANT.—
" We ſhall purge every thing that is unclean,
" Laſcivious, ſcurrilous, impious, or obſcene;
" And when we've put all things in this fair way,
" BAREBONES himſelf may come to ſee a play."[a]

The Epilogue which conſiſts of but twelve lines, is in the ſame ſtrain of apology:

[a] See alſo the Prologue to *The Second Part of the Siege of Rhodes*, acted in April, 1662,) which was ſpoken by a woman:

" Hope little from our poet's wither'd wit,
" From infant players, ſcarce grown puppets yet;
" Hope from our women leſs, whoſe baſhful fear
" Wonder'd to ſee me dare to enter here:
" Each took her leave, and wiſh'd my danger paſt,
" And though I come back ſafe and undiſgrac'd,
" Yet when they ſpy the wits here, then I doubt
" No amazon can make them venture out;
" Though I adviſ'd them not to fear you much,
" For I preſume not half of you are ſuch."

" And how do you like her? Come, what is't ye drive at!
" She's the ſame thing in publick as in private;
" As far from being what you call a whore;
" As Deſdemona, injur'd by the Moor:
" Then he that cenſures her in ſuch a caſe,
" Hath a ſoul blacker than Othello's face.
" But, ladies, what think *you?* for if you tax
" Her freedom with diſhonour to your ſex,
" She means to act no more, and this ſhall be
" No other play but her own tragedy.
" She will ſubmit to none but your commands,
" And take commiſſion only from your hands."

From a paper in Sir Henry Herbert's handwriting I find that *Othello* was performed by the Red-Bull company, (afterwards his Majeſties ſervants,) at their new theatre in Vere-ſtreet, near Claremarket, on Saturday December 8, 1660, for the firſt time that winter. On that day therefore it is probable an actreſs firſt appeared on the Engliſh ſtage. This theatre was opened on Thurſday November 8, with the play of *King Henry the Fourth.* Moſt of Jordan's prologues and epilogues appear to have been written for that company.

It is certain, however, that for ſome time after the Reſtoration men alſo acted female parts;[3] and

[3] In a prologue to a play repreſented before King Charles the Second very ſoon after his Reſtoration, of which I know not the title, are theſe lines, from which it appears that ſome young men acted the parts of women in that piece:

" ——————— we are ſorry
" We ſhould this night attend on ſo much glory
" With ſuch weak worth; or your clear ſight engage
" To view the remnants of a ruin'd ſtage:
" For doubting we ſhould never play again,
" We have play'd all our women into men;
" That are of ſuch large ſize for fleſh and bones,
" They'll rather be taken for amazons
" Than tender maids; but your mercy doth pleaſe
" Daily to paſs by as great faults as theſe:

Mr. Kynaſton even after women had aſſumed their proper rank on the ſtage, was not only endured, but admired, if we may believe a contemporary writer; who aſſures us, "that being then very young, he made a complete ſtage beauty, performing his parts ſo well, (particularly *Arthiope* and *Aglaura*) that it has ſince been diſputable among the judicious, whether any woman that ſucceeded him, touched the audience ſo ſenſibly as he."[4]

In D'Avenant's company, the firſt actreſs that appeared was probably Mrs. Saunderſon, who performed *Ianthe* in *The Siege of Rhodes*, on the opening of his new theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, in April 1662.[5] It does not appear from Downes's account, that while D'Avenant's company performed at the Cockpit in Drury-lane during the years 1659, 1660 and 1661, they had any female performer among them: or that *Othello* was acted by them at that period.

In the infancy of the Engliſh ſtage it was cuſtomary in every piece to introduce a Clown, "by

"If this be pardon'd, we ſhall henceforth bring
"Better oblations to my lord the king."
A Royal Arbour, &c. p. 12.

The author of *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica* ſays, that Major Mohun played *Bellamente* in Shirley's *Love Cruelty*, after the Reſtoration; and Cibber mentions, that Kynaſton told him he had played the part of *Evadne* in *The Maid's Tragedy*, at the ſame period, with ſucceſs. The apology made to King Charles the Second for a play not beginning in due time, ("that the *queen* was not *ſhaved*,") is well known. The queen is ſaid (but on no good authority) to have been Kynaſton.

[4] *Roſcius Anglicanus*, p. 19.

[5] In the following year ſhe married Mr. Betterton, and not in 1670, as is erroneouſly aſſerted in the *Biographia Britannica*. She acted by the name of Mrs. Betterton in *The Slighted Maid*, in 1663.

his mimick geſtures to breed in the leſs capable mirth and laughter.[6] The privileges of the Clown were very extenſive; for, between the acts, and ſometimes between the ſcenes, he claimed a right to enter on the ſtage, and to excite merriment by any ſpecies of buffoonery that ſtruck him. Like the Harlequin of the Italian comedy, his wit was often extemporal, and he ſometimes entered into a conteſt of raillery and ſarcaſm with ſome of the audience.[7] He generally threw his thoughts into hobbling doggrel verſes, which he made ſhorter or longer as he found convenient; but, however irregular his metre might be, or whatever the length of his verſes, he always took care to tag them with

[6] Heywood's *Hiſtory of Women*, 1624.

[7] In Brome's *Antipodes*, which was performed at the theatre in Saliſbury-court, in 1638, a *by-play*, as he calls it, is repreſented in his comedy; a word, for the application of which we are indebted to this writer, there being no other term in our language that I know of, which ſo properly expreſſes that ſpecies of interlude which we find in our poet's *Hamlet* and ſome other pieces. The actors in this *by-play* being called together by Lord Letoy, he gives them ſome inſtructions concerning their mode of acting, which prove that the clowns in Shakſpeare's time frequently held a dialogue with the audience:

" *Let.* ——— Go; be ready.—
" But you, ſir, are incorrigible, and
" Take licence to yourſelf to add unto
" Your parts your own free fancy; and ſometimes
" To alter or diminiſh what the writer
" With care and ſkill compos'd, and when you are
" To ſpeak to your co-actors in the ſcene,
" *You hold interlocution with the audients.*
" *Bip.* That is a way, my lord, hath been allow'd
" On elder ſtages to move mirth and laughter.
" *Let.* Yes, in the days of *Tarleton* and *Kempe*,
" Before the ſtage was purg'd from barbariſm,
" And brought to the perfection it now ſhines with.
" Then fools and jeſters ſpent their wit, becauſe
" The poets were wiſe enough to ſave their own
" For profitabler uſes."

words of correſponding ſound: like Dryden's DOEG,

" He fagotted his notions as they fell,
" And if they rhym'd and rattled, all was well."

Thomas Wilſon and Richard Tarleton, both ſworn ſervants to Queen Elizabeth, were the moſt popular performers of that time in this department of the drama, and are highly praiſed by the Continuator of Stowe's Annals, for " their wondrous plentiful, pleaſant, and *extemporal* wit."[8] Tarleton, whoſe comick powers were ſo great, that, according to Sir Richard Baker, " he delighted the ſpectators before he had ſpoken a word," is thus deſcribed in a very rare old pamphlet:[9] " The next, by his ſute of ruſſet, his buttoned cap, his taber, his ſtanding on the toe, and other tricks, I knew to be either the body or reſemblance of Tarlton, who living, for his pleaſant conceits was of all men liked, and, dying, for mirth left not his like." In 1611 was publiſhed a book entitled his *Jeaſts*, in which ſome ſpecimens are given of the extempore wit which our anceſtors thought ſo excellent. As he was performing ſome part " at the Bull in Biſhops-gate-ſtreet, where the Queenes players oftentimes played," while he was " kneeling down to aſke his fathers bleſſing," a fellow in the gallery threw an apple at him, which hit him on the

[8] Howes's edition of Stowe's Chronicle, 1631, p. 698.
See alſo Gabriel Harvey's *Four Letters*, 4to. 1592, p. 9: " Who in London hath not heard of—his fond diſguiſinge of a Maſter of Artes with ruffianly haire, unſeemely apparell, and more unſeemely company; his vaineglorious and Thraſonicall bravery; his piperly *extemporiſing* and *Tarletonizing?*" &c.

[9] *Kinde-Hartes Dreame*, by Henry Chettle, 4to. no date, but publiſhed in Dec. 1592.

cheek. He immediately took up the apple, and advancing to the audience, addreſſed them in theſe lines:

" Gentlemen, this fellow, with his face of mapple,[a]
" Inſtead of a pippin hath throwne me an apple;
" But as for an apple he hath caſt a crab,
" So inſtead of an honeſt woman God hath ſent him a drab."

" The people," ſays the relater, " laughed heartily; for the fellow had a quean to his wife."

Another of theſe ſtories, which I ſhall give in the author's own words, eſtabliſhes what I have already mentioned, that it was cuſtomary for the Clown to talk to the audience or the actors *ad libitum*.

" At the Bull at Biſhops-gate, was a play of *Henry the V.* [the performance which preceded Shakſpeare's,] wherein the judge was to take a box on the eare; and becauſe *he* was abſent that ſhould take the blow, Tarlton himſelfe ever forward to pleaſe, tooke upon him to play the ſame

[a] This appears to have been formerly a common ſarcaſm. There is a tradition yet preſerved in Stratford, of Shakſpeare's comparing the carbuncled face of a drunken blackſmith to a *maple*. The blackſmith accoſted him, as he was leaning over a mercer's door, with

" Now, MR. SHAKSPEARE, tell me, if you can,
" The difference between a youth and a young man."

to which our poet immediately replied,

" Thou ſon of fire, with *thy face like a maple*,
" The ſame difference as between a ſcalded and a coddled apple."

This anecdote was related near fifty years ago to a gentleman at Stratford by a perſon then above eighty years of age, whoſe father might have been contemporary with Shakſpeare. It is obſervable that a ſimilar imagery may be traced in *The Comedy of Errors*:

" Though now this *grained face* of mine be hid," &c.

The bark of the maple is uncommonly rough, and the grain of one of the ſorts of this tree (according to Evelyn) is " undulated and criſped into variety of curls."

judge, beſides his own part of the clowne; and Knel, then playing Henry the Fifth, hit Tarleton a ſound box indeed, which made the people laugh the more, becauſe it was he: but anon the judge goes in, and immediately Tarleton in his clownes cloathes comes out, and aſks the actors, *What news?* O, ſaith one, had'ſt thou been here, thou ſhouldeſt have ſeen Prince Henry hit the judge a terrible box on the eare. What, man, ſaid Tarlton, ſtrike a judge! It is true, i'faith, ſaid the other. No other like, ſaid Tarlton, and it could not be but terrible to the judge, when the report ſo terrifies me, that methinks the blowe remaines ſtill on my cheeke, that it burnes againe. The people laught at this mightily, and to this day I have heard it commended for rare; but no marvell, for he had many of theſe. But I would ſee *our clownes in theſe days* do the like. No, I warrant ye; and yet they thinke well of themſelves too."

The laſt words ſhew that this practice was not diſcontinued in the time of Shakſpeare, and we here ſee that he had abundant reaſon for his precept in *Hamlet*; " Let thoſe that play your *clowns*, *ſpeak no more than is ſet down for them*; for there be of them, that will of themſelves laugh, to ſet on ſome quantity of barren ſpectators to laugh too; though *in the mean time ſome neceſſary queſtion of the play be then to be conſider'd.*"

This practice was undoubtedly coeval with the Engliſh ſtage; for we are told that Sir Thomas More, while he lived as a page with Archbiſhop Moreton, (about the year 1490,) as the Chriſtmas plays were going on in the palace, would ſometimes ſuddenly ſtep upon the ſtage, " without ſtudying for the matter," and exhibit a part of his

own, which gave the audience much more entertainment than the whole performance beſides.[4]

But the peculiar province of the Clown was to entertain the audience after the play was finiſhed, at which time *themes* were ſometimes given to him by ſome of the ſpectators, to deſcant upon;[5] but more commonly the audience were entertained by a *jig*. A jig was a ludicrous metrical compoſition, often in rhyme, which was ſung by the Clown, who likewiſe, I believe, occaſionally danced, and was always accompanied by a tabor and pipe.[6] In

4 Roper's *Life and Death of More*, 8vo. 1716, p. 3.

5 "I remember I was once at a play in the country, where, as Tarlton's uſe was, the play being done, every one ſo pleaſed *to throw up his theame:* amongſt all the reſt one was read to this effect, word by word:

"Tarlton, I am one of thy friends, and none of thy foes,
"Then I pr'ythee tell how thou cam'ſt by thy flat noſe," &c.

To this challenge Tarleton immediately replied in four lines of looſe verſe. *Tarlton's Jeaſts*, 4to. 1611.

6 "Out upon them, [the players,] they ſpoile our trade,—they open our croſſe-biting, our conny-catching, our traines, our traps, our gins, our ſnares, our ſubtilties; for no ſooner have we a tricke of deceipt, but they make it common, *ſinging gigs*, and making jeaſts of us, that every boy can point out our houſes as they paſſe by." *Kind-Hartes Dreame*, Signat. E 3. b.

See alſo *Pierce Pennileſſe*, &c. 1592:

"——— like the queint comedians of our time,
"That when the play is done, do fall to rhime," &c.

So, in *A ſtrange Horſe-race*, by Thomas Decker, 1613:

"Now as after the cleare ſtream hath glided away in his owne current, the bottom is muddy and troubled; and as I have often ſeen *after the finiſhing of ſome worthy tragedy* or cataſtrophe in the open theatres, that the ſceane, after the epilogue, hath been more black, about a naſty bawdy *jigge*, then the moſt horrid ſcene in the play was; the ſtinkards ſpeaking all things, yet no man underſtanding any thing; a mutiny being amongſt them, yet none in danger; no tumult, and yet no quietneſs; no miſchiefe begotten, and yet miſchiefe borne; the ſwiftneſs of ſuch a torrent, the more it overwhelms, breeding the more pleaſure; ſo after theſe worthies and conquerors had left the field, another race was ready to begin, at

theſe jigs more perſons than one were ſometimes introduced. The original of the entertainment which this buffoon afforded our anceſtors between the acts and after the play, may be traced to the

which, though the perſons in it were nothing equal to the former, yet the ſhoutes and noyſe at theſe was as great, if not greater."

The following lines in Hall's *Satires*, 1597, ſeem alſo to allude to the ſame cuſtom:

" One higher pitch'd, doth ſet his ſoaring thought
" On crowned kings, that fortune hath low brought,
" Or ſome upreared high-aſpiring ſwaine,
" As it might be, the Turkiſh *Tamburlaine*.
" Then weeneth he his baſe drink-drowned ſpright
" Rapt to the three-fold loft of heaven hight,
" When he conceives upon his fained ſtage
" The ſtalking ſteps of his great perſonage;
" Graced with huff-cap termes and thund'ring threats,
" That his poor hearers' hayre quite upright ſets.
" Such ſoone as ſome brave-minded hungrie youth
" Sees fitly frame to his wide-ſtrained mouth,
" He vaunts his voyce upon an hyred ſtage,
" With high-ſet ſteps, and princely carriage:—
" There if he can with termes Italianate,
" Big-ſounding ſentences, and words of ſtate,
" Faire patch me up his pure iambick verſe,
" He raviſhes the gazing ſcaffolders.—
" Now leaſt ſuch frightful ſhowes of fortunes fall,
" And bloudy tyrants' rage, ſhould chance appall
" The dead-ſtruck audience, *midſt the ſilent rout*
" *Comes leaping in a ſelfe-misformed lout,*
" *And laughes, and grins, and frames his mimick face,*
" *And juſtles ſtraight into the princes place:*
" *Then doth the theatre echo all aloud*
" *With gladſome noyſe of that applauding croud.*
" *A goodly boch-poch, when vile ruffettings*
" *Are matcht with monarchs and with mighty kings!*" &c.

The entertainments here alluded to were probably " the fond and frivolous jeſtures," deſcribed in the preface to Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, 1590, which the printer ſays, he omitted, " as farre unmeete for the matter, though they have been of ſome vaine conceited fondlings greatly gaped at, what times they were ſhewed upon the ſtage in their graced deformities."

It ſhould ſeem from D'Avenant's prologue to *The Wits*, when

ſatyrical interludes of Greece,[7] and the Attellans and Mimes of the Roman ſtage.[8] The *Exodiarii*

acted at the Duke's theatre, in 1662, that this ſpecies of entertainment was not even then entirely diſuſed:

" So country *jigs* and farces, mixt *among*
" Heroick ſcenes, make plays continue long."

Blount in his *Glossographia*, 1681, 5th edit. defines a farce, " A fond and diſſolute play or comedy. Alſo the *jig* at the end of an interlude, wherein ſome pretty knavery is acted."

Kempe's *Jigg of the Kitchen-ſtuffe-woman*, and *Philips his Jigg of the Slyppers*, were entered on the Stationers' books in 1595; but I know not whether they were printed. There is, I believe, no *jig* now extant in print.

7 " Carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum,
" Mox etiam agreſtes Satyros nudavit, et aſper
" Incolumi gravitate jocum tentavit, eo quod
" Illecebris erat et gratâ novitate morandus
" Spectator, functuſque ſacris, et potus et exlex."
HOR. *de Arte Poetica.*

8 " Urbicus exodio riſum movet *Atellanæ*
" Geſtibus Autonoes;——." JUV. Sat. VI. 71.

" *Exodiarius* in fine ludorum apud veteres intrabat, quod ridiculus foret; ut quicquid lacrymarum atque triſtitiæ coegiſſent ex tragicis affectibus, hujus ſpectaculi riſus detergeret." *Vet. Schol.* " As an old commentator of Juvenal affirms, the *Exodiarii*, which were ſingers and dancers, entered to entertain the people with light ſongs and mimical geſtures, that they might not go away oppreſſed with melancholy from theſe ſacred pieces of the theatre." Dryden's *Dedication* to his Tranſlation of Juvenal. See alſo Liv. Lib. VII. c. ii. Others contend that the *Exodia* did not ſolely ſignify the ſongs, &c. at the concluſion of the play, but thoſe alſo which were ſung in the middle of the piece; and that they were ſo called, becauſe they were introduced ἐξοδικῶς, that is, incidentally, and unconnected with the principal entertainment. Of this kind undoubtedly were the ἐμβόλα or epiſodes, introduced between the acts, as the παροδία were the ſongs ſung at the opening of the play.

The Atellan interludes were ſo called from Atella, a town in Italy, from which they were introduced to Rome: and in proceſs of time they were acted ſometimes in the middle, and ſometimes at the end of more ſerious pieces. Theſe, as we learn from one of Cicero's letters, gave way about the time of Julius Cæſar's death to the *Mimes*, which conſiſted of a groſſer and more licentious pleaſantry than the Atellan interludes. " Nunc venio," ſays Cicero,

and *Emboliariæ* of the Mimes are undoubtedly the

" ad jocationes tuas, cum tu ſecundùm Oenomaum Accii, non ut olim ſolebat, Atellanum, ſed *ut nunc fit*, mimum introduxiſti." *Epiſt. ad Fam.* IX. 16. The Atellan interludes, however, were not wholly diſuſed after the introduction of the Mimes; as is aſcertained by a paſſage in Suetonius's Life of Nero, c. xxxix.

" Mirum et vel præcipue notabile inter hæc fuit, nihil eum patientius quam maledicta et convitia hominum tuliſſe; neque in ullos leniorem quam qui ſe dictis ante aut carminibus laceſſiſſent, extitiſſe.—Tranſeuntem eum Iſidorus Cynicus in publico clara voce corripuerat, quod Nauplii mala bene cantitaret, ſua bona male diſponeret. Et Datus *Atellanarum* hiſtrio, in cantico quodam, *ὑγιαίνων κάτω, ὑγιαίνω μῆτερ*, ita demonſtraverat, ut bibentem natantemque faceret, exitum ſcilicet Claudii Agrippinæque ſignificans; et in noviſſima clauſula, *Orcus vobis ducit pedes*, ſenatum geſtu notaret. Hiſtrionem et philoſophum Nero nihil amplius quam urbe Italiaque ſubmovit, vel contemptu omnis infamiæ, vel ne fatendo dolorem irritaret ingenia." See alſo Galb. c. xiii.

I do not find that the ancient French theatre had any exhibition exactly correſponding with this, for their SOTTIE rather reſembled the Atellan farces, in their original ſtate, when they were performed as a diſtinct exhibition, unmixed with any other interlude. An extract given by Mr. Warton from an old ART OF POETRY publiſhed in 1548, furniſhes us with this account of it: " The French farce contains nothing of the Latin comedy. It has neither acts nor ſcenes, which would ſerve only to introduce a tedious prolixity: for the true ſubject of the French farce or SOTTIE is every ſort of foolery, which has a tendency to provoke laughter.—The ſubject of the Greek and Latin comedy was totally different from every thing on the French ſtage; for it had more morality than drollery, and often as much truth as fiction. Our MORALITIES hold a place indifferently between tragedy and comedy, but our farces are really what the Romans called *Mimes* or *Priapees*, the intended end and effect of which was exceſſive laughter, and on that account they admitted all kind of licentiouſneſs, as our farces do at preſent. In the mean time their pleaſantry does not derive much advantage from rhymes, however flowing, of eight ſyllables." HIST. OF ENG. POETRY, Vol. III. p. 350. Scaliger expreſsly mentions the two ſpecies of drama above deſcribed, as the popular entertainments of France in his time. " Sunto igitur duo genera, quæ etiam vicatim et oppidatim per univerſam Galliam mirificis artificibus circumferuntur; MORALE, et RIDICULUM." *Poetices*, Lib. I. c. x. p. 17, edit. 1561.

remote progenitors of the Vice and Clown of our ancient dramas.[9]

No writer that I have met with, intimates that in the time of Shakſpeare it was cuſtomary to exhibit more than a ſingle dramatick piece on one day.[2] Had any ſhorter pieces, of the ſame kind with our modern farces, (beſide the *jigs* already mentioned,) been preſented after the principal performance, ſome of them probably would have been printed; but there are none of them extant of an earlier date than the time of the Reſtoration.[3]

9 The exact conformity between our Clown and the *Exodiarii* and *Emboliariæ* of the Roman ſtage is aſcertained, not only by what I have ſtated in the text, but by our author's contemporary Philemon Holland, by whom that paſſage in Pliny which is referred to in a former page,—"Lucceïa *mima* centum annis in ſcena pronuntiavit. Galeria Copiola, *emboliaria*, reducta eſt in ſcenam,—annum centeſſimum quartum agens,"—is thus tranſlated: "Lucceia, a common VICE in a play, followed the ſtage, and acted thereupon 100 yeeres. Such another VICE, *that plaied the foole, and made ſporte betweene whiles in interludes*, named Galeria Copiola, was brought to act on the ſtage,—when ſhe was in the 104th yeere of her age."

2 *The Yorkſhire Tragedy, or All's One*, indeed appears to have been one of four pieces that were repreſented on the ſame day; and Fletcher has alſo a piece called *Four Plays in One*; but probably theſe were either exhibited on ſome particular occaſion, or were ineffectual efforts to introduce a new ſpecies of amuſement; for we do not find any other inſtances of the ſame kind.

3 In 1663, as I learn from Sir Henry Herbert's MSS. Sir William D'Avenant produced *The Playhouſe to be let*. The fifth act of this heterogeneous piece is a mock tragedy, founded on the actions of Cæſar, Anthony, and Cleopatra. This, Langbaine ſays, uſed to be acted at the theatre in Dorſet Garden, (which was not opened till November, 1671,) after the tragedy of *Pompey*, written by Mrs. Catharine Philips; and was, I believe, the firſt farce that appeared on the Engliſh ſtage. In 1677, *The Cheats of Scapin* was performed, as a ſecond piece, after *Titus and Berenice*, a play of three acts, in order to furniſh out an exhibition of the uſual length; and about the ſame time farces were produced by Duffet, Tate, and others.

The practice therefore of exhibiting two dramas ſucceſſively in the ſame afternoon, we may be aſſured, was not eſtabliſhed before that period. But though our ancient audiences were not gratified by the repreſentation of more than one drama in the ſame day, the entertainment in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth was diverſified, and the populace diverted, by vaulting, tumbling, ſlight of hand, and morrice-dancing;[4] and in the time of Shakſpeare, by the extemporaneous buffoonery of the Clown, whenever he choſe to ſolicit the attention of the audience; by ſinging and dancing between the acts, and either a ſong or the metrical jig already deſcribed at the end of the piece:[5] a

4 "For the eye, beſides the beautie of the houſes and the ſtages, he [the devil] ſendeth in gariſh apparell, maſques, *vaulting, tumbling, dauncing of gigges, galiardes, moriſces, hobby-horſes, ſhewing of juggling caſtes*,—nothing forgot, that might ſerve to ſet out the matter with pompe, or raviſh the beholders with variety of pleaſure." *Playes confuted in five Actions.* By Stephen Goſſon. Signat. E.

5 See Beaumont's Verſes to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdeſs*:

"Nor want there thoſe, who, as the *boy* does *dance*
"Between the acts, will cenſure the whole play."

So alſo, in Sir John Davies's EPIGRAMS, no date, but printed in 1598:

"For as we ſee at all the play-houſe doores,
"When ended is the play, the *dance*, and *ſong*,
"A thouſand townſmen," &c.

Hentzner obſerves, that the dances, when he was in London in 1598, were accompanied with exquiſite muſick. See the paſſage quoted from his ITINERARY, in p. 165, n. 9.

That in the ſtage-dances boys in the dreſs of women ſometimes joined, appears to me probable from Prynne's invective againſt the theatre: "Stage-playes," ſays he, "by our own modern experience are commonly attended with *mixt* effeminate amorous dancing." *Hiſtrio-maſtix*, p. 259. From the ſame author we learn that ſongs were frequently ſung between the acts. "By our owne moderne experience there is nothing more frequent in all our ſtage-playes then amorous paſtoral or obſcene laſcivious love-ſongs, moſt melo-

mixture not more heterogeneous than that with which we are now daily preſented, a tragedy and a farce. In the dances, I believe, not only men, but boys in women's dreſſes, were introduced: a practice which prevailed on the Grecian ſtage,[6] and in France till late in the laſt century.[7]

The amuſements of our anceſtors, before the commencement of the play, were of various kinds. While ſome part of the audience entertained themſelves with reading,[8] or playing at cards,[9] others

diouſly chanted out upon the ſtage betweene each ſeveral action; both to ſupply that chaſme or vacant interim which the tyring-houſe takes up in changing the actors' robes, to fit them for ſome other part in the enſuing ſcene,—as likewiſe to pleaſe the itching eares, if not to inflame the outrageous luſts, of lewde ſpectators." *Ibidem*, p. 262.

In another place the author quotes the following paſſage from Euſebius. "What ſeeth he who runnes to play-houſes? Diabolical ſonges, dancing wenches, or, that I may ſpeake more truely, girles toſſed up and downe with the furies of the devil." ["*A good deſcription* (adds Prynne) *of our dancing females.*"] "For what doth this dancereſſe? She moſt impudently uncovers her head, which Paul hath commanded to be always covered; ſhe turnes about her necke the wrong way; ſhe throweth aboute her haire hither and thither. Even theſe things verily are done by her whom the Devill hath poſſeſſed." *Ibidem*, p. 534.

It does not appear whether the puritanical writer of this treatiſe alludes in the obſervation inſerted in crotchets to boys dancing on the ſtage in women's cloaths, or to female dancers in *private* houſes. The ſubject immediately before him ſhould rather lead to the former interpretation. *Women* certainly did not dance on the ſtage in his time.

[6] See p. 233, n. 5.

[7] "Dans le ballet de *Triomphe de l'Amour* en 1681, on vit pour la premiere fois de danſeuſes ſur le theâtre de l'Opera: auparavant c'etoient deux, quatre, ſix, ou huit danſeurs qu'on habilloit en femmes." *Oeuvres de M. De Saint-Foix*, Tom. III. p. 416.

[8] So, in Fitz-Jeoffery's *Satires*, 1617:

"Ye worthy worthies! none elſe, might I chuſe,
"Doe I deſire my *poeſie peruſe*,
"For to ſave charges *ere the play begin*,
"Or when the lord of liberty comes in."

were employed in leſs refined occupations; in drinking ale,[2] or ſmoking tobacco:[3] with theſe and nuts and apples they were furniſhed by male attendants, of whoſe clamour a ſatirical writer of the time of James I. loudly complains.[4] In 1633,

Again, in a ſatire at the concluſion of *The Maſtive, or young Whelpe of the old Dogge,—Epigrams and Satires*, printed by Thomas Creede:

[The author is ſpeaking of thoſe who will probably purchaſe his book.]

" Laſt comes my ſcoffing friend, of ſcowring wit,
" Who thinks his judgement 'bove all arts doth ſit.
" He buys the booke, and haſtes him to the *play*;
" Where when he comes and *reads*, " here's ſtuff," doth ſay:
" Becauſe the lookers on may hold him wiſe,
" He laughs at what he likes, and then will riſe,
" And takes tobacco; then about will looke,
" And more diſlike the play than of the booke;
" At length is vext he ſhould with charge be drawne
" For ſuch ſlight fights to lay a ſute to pawne."

9 " Before the play begins, fall to *cardes*." *Guls Horne-booke*, 1609.

2 See *The Woman-Hater*, a comedy, by B. and Fletcher, 1607: " There is no poet acquainted with more ſhakings and quakings towards the latter end of his new play, when he's in that caſe that he ſtands peeping between the curtains, ſo fearfully, that a *bottle of ale* cannot be opened, but that he thinks ſome body hiſſes."

3 " Now, ſir, I am one of your gentle auditors that am come in;—I have my three ſorts of *tobacco* in my pocket; *my light by me*;—and thus I begin." Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, by Ben Jonſon, 1601.

So, in *Bartholomew Fair*, 1614: " He looks like a fellow that I have ſeen accommodate gentlemen with *tobacco* at our theatres."

Again, in Decker's *Guls Horne-book*: " By ſitting on the ſtage, you may with ſmall coſt purchaſe the deare acquaintance of the boyes; have a good ſtool for ſixpence;—*get your match lighted*," &c.

4 " —— Pr'ythee, what's the play?
" —— I'll ſee't, and ſit it out whate'er.—
" Had Fate fore-read me in a crowd to die;
" To be made adder-deaf with *pippin-cry*."
Notes from Black-fryers, by H. Fitz-Jeoffery, 1617.

when Prynne publiſhed his *Hiſtriomaſtix*, women ſmoked tobacco in the playhouſes as well as men.[5]

It was a common practice to carry table-books[6] to the theatre, and either from curioſity, or enmity to the author, or ſome other motive, to write down paſſages of the play that was repreſented; and there is reaſon to believe that the imperfect and mutilated copies of one or two of Shakſpeare's dramas, which are yet extant, were taken down by the ear or in ſhort-hand during the exhibition.

At the end of the piece, the actors, in noblemen's houſes and in taverns, where plays were frequently performed,[7] prayed for the health and

[5] In a note on a paſſage in Goſſon's *Schoole of Abuſe*, 1579: "Inſtead of pomegranates they give them pippins," &c. quoted by Prynne, he informs us, "Now they offer them [the female part of the audience] *the tobacco-pipe*, which was then unknowne." *Hiſtriomaſtix*, p. 363.

[6] See the Induction to Marſton's *Malecontent*, a comedy, 1604: "I am one that hath ſeen this play often, and can give them [Heminge, Burbage, &c.] intelligence for their action; I have noſ of the jeſts here in my *table-book*."

So, in the prologue to *Hannibal and Scipio*, 1637:

"——Nor ſhall he in pluſh,
"That, from the poet's labours, in the pit
"Informs himſelf, for the exerciſe of his wit
"At taverns, *gather notes*."—

Again, in the Prologue to *The Woman-Hater*, a comedy, 1607:

"If there be any lurking among you in corners, with *table-books*, who have ſome hopes to find fit matter *to feed his malice on*, let them claſp them up, and ſlink away, or ſtay and be converted."

Again, in *Every Man in his Humour*, 1601:

"But to ſuch, wherever they ſit concealed, let them know, the author defies them and their *writing-tables*."

[7] See *A Mad World my Maſters*, a comedy, by Middleton, 1608: "Some ſherry for my lord's players there, ſirrah; why this will be a true feaſt;—a right *Mitre* ſupper;—*a play and all*."

The night before the inſurrection of the gallant and unfortunate Earl of Eſſex, the play of *King Henry IV.* (not Shakſpeare's piece) was acted at his houſe.

proſperity of their patrons; and in the publick theatres, for the king and queen.[8] This prayer ſometimes made part of the epilogue.[9] Hence, probably, as Mr. Steevens has obſerved, the addition of *Vivant rex et regina*, to the modern play-bills.

Plays in the time of our author, began at one o'clock in the afternoon;[a] and the exhibition was

[8] See the notes on the Epilogue to *The Second Part of K. Henry IV.* Vol. IX. p. 254.

[9] See *Cambyſes*, a tragedy, by Thomas Preſton; *Locrine*, 1595; and *K. Henry IV.* Part II:

[a] "Fuſcus doth riſe at ten, and at eleven
"He goes to Gyls, where he doth eat till *one*,
"Then ſees *a play*."

Epigrams by Sir John Davies, no date, but printed about 1598.

Others, however, were actuated by a ſtronger curioſity, and, in order to ſecure good places, went to the theatre without their dinner. See the Prologue to *The Unfortunate Lovers*, by Sir William D'Avenant, firſt performed at Blackfriars, in April, 1638:

"—— You are grown exceſſive proud,
"Since ten times more of wit than was allow'd
"Your ſilly anceſtors in twenty year,
"You think in *two ſhort hours* to ſwallow here.
"For they to theatres were pleas'd to come,
"*Ere they had din'd*, to take up the beſt room;
"There ſat on benches not adorn'd with mats,
"And graciouſly did vail their high-crown'd hats
"To every half-dreſs'd player, as he ſtill
"Through hangings peep'd, to ſee the galleries fill.
"Good eaſy-judging ſouls, with what delight
"They would expect a jig or target-fight!
"A furious tale of Troy, which they ne'er thought
"Was weakly writ, if it were ſtrongly fought;
"Laugh'd at a clinch, the ſhadow of a jeſt,
"And cry'd—*a paſſing good one, I proteſt*."

From the foregoing lines it appears that, anciently, places were not taken in the beſt *rooms* or boxes, before the repreſentation. Soon after the Reſtoration, this practice was eſtabliſhed. See a prologue to a revived play, in *Covent Garden Drollery*, 1672:

"Hence 'tis, that at *new* plays you come ſo ſoon,
"Like bridegrooms hot to go to bed ere noon;

ſometimes finiſhed in two hours.[3] Even in 1667, they commenced at three o'clock.[4] About thirty years afterwards, (in 1696) theatrical entertainments began an hour later.[5]

We have ſeen that in the infancy of our ſtage Myſteries were uſually acted in churches; and the practice of exhibiting religious dramas in buildings appropriated to the ſervice of religion on the Lord's-day certainly continued after the Reformation.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth plays were exhibited in the publick theatres on Sundays, as well as on other days of the week.[6] The licence

" Or if you are detain'd ſome little ſpace,
" *The ſtinking footman's ſent to keep your place.*
" But if a play's *reviv'd*, you ſtay and dine,
" And drink till *three*, and then come dropping in."

Though Sir John Davies in the paſſage above quoted, mentions *one o'clock* as the hour at which plays commenced, the time of beginning the entertainment about eleven years afterwards (1609) ſeems to have been later; for Decker in his *Guls Horne-booke* makes his gallant go to the ordinary at *two* o'clock, and from thence to the play.

When Ben Jonſon's *Magnetick Lady* was acted (in 1632,) plays appear to have been over at five o'clock. They probably at that time did not begin till between two and three o'clock.

[3] See p. 255, n. 2. See alſo the Prologue to *King Henry VIII.* and that to *Romeo and Juliet.*

[4] See *The Demoiſelles a la Mode*, by Fleckno, 1667:

" 1. *Actor.* Hark you, hark you, whither away ſo faſt?

" 2. *Actor.* Why, to the theatre, 'tis paſt *three o'clock*, and the play is ready to begin." See alſo note 2, above.

After the Reſtoration, (we are told by old Mr. Cibber) it was a frequent practice of the ladies of quality, to carry Mr. Kynaſton the actor, in his female dreſs, *after the play*, in their coaches to Hyde-Park.

[5] See the Epilogue to *The She Gallants*, printed in that year.

[6] " Theſe, [the players] becauſe they are allowed to play every *Sunday*, make four or five *Sundays*, at leaſt, every week." *School of Abuſe*, 1579.

granted by that queen to James Burbage in 1574, which has been already printed in a former page,[7] ſhews that they were then repreſented on that day, *out of the hours of prayer.*

We are told indeed by John Field in his *Declaration of God's Judgment at Paris Garden*, that in the year 1580 "the magiſtrates of the city of London obtained from Queene Elizabeth, that all heatheniſh playes and enterludes ſhould be baniſhed upon ſabbath dayes." This prohibition, however, probably laſted but a ſhort time; for her majeſty, when ſhe viſited Oxford in 1592, did not ſcruple to be preſent at a theatrical exhibition on Sunday night, the 24th of September in that year.[8] During the reign of James the Firſt, though dramatick entertainments were performed at court on Sundays,[9] I

"In former times, (ſays Strype in his Additions to Stowe's *Survey of London*,) ingenious tradeſmen and gentlemen's ſervants would ſometimes gather a company of themſelves, and learn interludes, to expoſe vice, or to repreſent the noble actions of our anceſtors. Theſe they played at feſtivals, in private houſes, at weddings, or other entertainments. But in proceſs of time it became an occupation, and theſe plays being *commonly* acted on *Sundays* and other feſtivals, the churches were forſaken, and the playhouſes thronged."

See alſo *A Sermon preached at Paules Croſſe on St. Bartholomew day, being the 24. of Auguſt, 1578, By John Stockwood*:—"Will not a fylthie playe with the blaſt of a trumpette ſooner call thyther [to the country] a thouſande, than an houres tolling of a bell bring to the ſermon a hundred? Nay, even heere in the citie, without it be at this place, and ſome other certaine ordinarie audience, where ſhall you find a reaſonable company? Whereas if you reſorte to *the Theatre*, *the Curtaine*, and other places of playes in the citie, you ſhall on the *Lord's day* have theſe places, with many other that I can reckon, ſo full as poſſible they can throng."

See alſo Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuſes*, 1583, in pref.; and *The Mirrour of Magiſtrates for Cities*, 1584, p. 24.

[7] P. 156.

[8] Peck's *Memoirs of Cromwell*, No. IV. p. 15.

[9] This is aſcertained by the following account of "REVELLS and PLAYES performed and acted at Chriſtmas in the court at

believe, no plays were *publickly* repreſented on that day;[a] and by the ſtatute 3 Car. I. c. 1. their exhi-

Whitehall, 1622;" for the preſervation of which we are indebted to Sir John Aſtley, then Maſter of the Revels:

"Upon St. Steevens daye at night *The Spaniſh Curate* was acted by the kings players.

"Upon St. Johns daye at night was acted *The Beggars Buſh* by the kings players.

"Upon Childermas daye no playe.

"Upon the *Sonday* following *The Pilgrim* was acted by the kings players.

"Upon New-years day at night *The Alchemiſt* was acted by the kings players.

"Upon Twelfe night, the Maſque being put off, the play called *A Vowe and a good one* was acted by the princes ſervants.

"Upon *Sonday*, being the 19th of January, the Princes Maſque appointed for Twelfe daye, was performed. The ſpeeches and ſongs compoſed by Mr. Ben. Johnſon, and the ſcene made by Mr. Inigo Jones, which was three times changed during the tyme of the maſque: where in the firſt that was diſcovered was a proſpective of Whitehall, with the Banqueting Houſe; the ſecond was the Maſquers in a cloud; and the third a forreſt. The French embaſſador was preſent.

"The Antemaſques of tumblers and jugglers.

"The Prince did leade the meaſures with the French embaſſadors wife.

"The meaſures, braules, corrantos, and galliards being ended, the Maſquers with the ladyes did daunce 2 contrey daunces, namely *The Soldiers Marche*, and *Huff Hamukin*, where the French Embaſſadors wife and Mademoyſala St. Luke did [daunce].

"At Candlemas *Malvolio* was acted at court, by the kings ſervants.

"At Shrovetide, the king being at Newmarket, and the prince out of England, there was neyther maſque nor play, nor any other kind of Revells held at court." MS. Herbert.

[a] In the *Refutation of the Apologie for Actors*, by J. G. quarto, 1615, it is aſked, "If plays do ſo much good, why are they not ſuffered on the *Sabbath*, a day ſelect whereon to do good?" From hence it appears that plays were not permitted to be publickly acted on Sundays in the time of *James I.*

Yet Beard in his *Theatre of God's Judgment*, p. 212, edit. 1631, tells us, that in the year 1607, "at a towne in Bedfordſhire called Riſley, the floore of a chamber wherein many were gathered together to ſee a ſtage-play *on the Sabbath day*, fell downe." But

bition on the Sabbath day was abſolutely prohibited: yet, notwithſtanding this act of parliament, both plays and maſques were performed at court on ſundays, during the firſt ſixteen years of the reign of that king,[3] and certainly in private houſes, if not on the publick ſtage.

this was a private exhibition.—From a paſſage alſo in Prynne's *Hiſtriomaſtix*, p. 243, it appears that plays had been ſometimes repreſented on Sundays in the time of James the Firſt, though the practice was then not common. "Dancing therefore on the Lords day is an unlawful paſtime puniſhable by the ſtatute 1 Caroli, c. 1. which intended to ſuppreſſe dancing on the lords day, as well as beare-bayting, bull-bayting, *enterludes and common playes*, which were not ſo rife, ſo common, as dancing, when this law was firſt enacted."

It is uncertain whether this writer here alludes to publick or private exhibitions.

[3] May, in his *Hiſtory of the Parliament of England*, 1646, taking a review of the conduct of King Charles and his miniſters from 1628 to 1640, mentions that plays were uſually repreſented at *court* on *Sundays* during that period.

There were during this period ſimilar exhibitions on Sundays elſewhere as well as at court, notwithſtanding the ſtatute made in the beginning of this reign: but whether they were permitted then in the publick theatres, I am unable to aſcertain. Prynne in his *Hiſtriomaſtix*, p. 645, has the following paſſage: "Neither will it hereupon follow, that we may dance, dice, ſee maſques or plays on *Lords-day nights*, (*as too many do*,) becauſe the Lords day is then ended," &c. and in p. 717, he inſinuates that the ſtatute 3 Car. I. c. 4. (which prohibited the exhibition of any interlude or ſtage-play on the Lord's-day,) was not very ſtrictly enforced: "If it were as diligently executed as it was piouſly enacted, it would ſuppreſſe many great abuſes, *that are yet continuing among us*, to Gods diſhonour and good chriſtians' grief in too many places of our kingdom; which our juſtices, our inferiour magiſtrates, might ſoon reforme, would they but ſet themſelves ſeriouſly about it, as ſome *here and there* have done."

See alſo Withers's *Britaines Remembrancer*, Canto VI. p. 197, b. edit. 1628:

"And ſeldom have they leiſure for a play
"Or maſque, except upon God's holiday."

In John Spencer's *Diſcourſes of diverſe Petitions*, &c. 4to. 1641,

It has been a queſtion, whether it was formerly a common practice to ride on horſeback to the playhouſe; a circumſtance that would ſcarcely deſerve conſideration, if it were not in ſome ſort connected with our author's hiſtory,[4] a plauſible ſtory having been built on this foundation, relative to his firſt introduction to the ſtage.

The modes of conveyance to the theatre, anciently, as at preſent, ſeem to have been various; ſome going in coaches,[5] others on horſeback,[6] and

(as I learn from Oldys's Manuſcript notes on Langbaine,) it is ſaid, that "John Wilſon, a cunning muſician, contrived a curious comedy, which being acted on a *Sunday* night after that John biſhop of Lincoln had conſecrated the earl of Cleaveland's ſumptuous chapel, the ſaid John Spencer (newly made the biſhop's commiſſary general) did preſent the ſaid biſhop at Huntingdon for ſuffering the ſaid comedy to be acted in his houſe on a *Sunday*, though it was nine o'clock at night; alſo Sir Sydney Montacute and his lady, Sir Thomas Hadley and his lady, Maſter Wilſon, and others, actors of the ſame: and becauſe they did not appear, he ſentenced the biſhop to build a ſchool at Eaton, and endow it with 20l. a year for a maſter; Sir Sydney Montacute to give five pounds and five coats to five poor women, and his lady five pounds and five gowns to five poor widows; and the cenſure, (ſays he,) ſtands yet unrepealed."

[4] See Vol. I. Anecdotes at the end of Shakſpeare's Life, &c.

[5] "A pipe there, ſirrah; no ſophiſticate;
"Villaine, the beſt;—whate'er you prize it at.
"Tell yonder lady with the yellow fan,
"I ſhall be proud to uſher her anon;
"My *coach* ſtands ready,——"

Notes from Black-friars, 1617.

The author is deſcribing the behaviour of a *gallant* at the *Black-friars theatre*.

[6] See the induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601: "Beſides, they could wiſh, your poets would leave to be promoters of other men's jeſts, and to way-lay all the ſtale apothegms or old books they can hear of, in print or otherwiſe, to farce their ſcenes withal:—again, that feeding their friends with nothing of their own but what they have twice or thrice cook'd, they ſhould not wantonly give out, how ſoon they had dreſt it, nor how many *coaches* came to carry away the broken meat, beſides *hobby-horſes*, and *foot-cloth nags*."

"By this time," (ſays Decker, deſcribing an ordinary,) "the

many by water.[7] To *the Globe* playhouſe the com-

parings of fruit and cheeſe are in the voyder, cardes and dice lie ſtinking in the fire, the gueſts are all up, the guilt rapiers ready to be hanged, the French lacquey and Iriſh footboy ſhrugging at the doores, *with their maſters' hobby horſes, to ride to the new play*; that's the randevous, thither they are gallopt in poſt; let us take a paire of oares and row luſtily after them." *Guls Hornebooke*, 4to. 1609.

[7] In the year 1613, the Company of Watermen petitioned his majeſty, "that the players might not be permitted to have a playhouſe in London or in Middleſex, within four miles of the city on that ſide of the Thames." From Taylor's *True Cauſe of the Watermen's Suit concerning Players, and the reaſons that their playing on London ſide, is their* [i. e. the Watermen's] *extreme hindrance*, we learn, that the theatres on the Bankſide in Southwark were once ſo numerous, and the cuſtom of going thither by water ſo general, that many thouſand watermen were ſupported by it.—As the book is not common, and the paſſage contains ſome anecdotes relative to the ſtage at that time, I ſhall tranſcribe it:

"Afterwards," [i. e. as I conjecture, about the year 1596,] ſays Taylor, who was employed as an advocate in behalf of the watermen, "the players began to play on *the Bankſide*, and to leave playing in London and Middleſex, *for the moſt part*. Then there went ſuch great concourſe of people by water, that the ſmall number of watermen remaining at home [the majority being employed in the Spaniſh war] were not able to carry them, by reaſon of the court, the tearms, the players, and other employments. So that we were inforced and encouraged, hoping that this golden ſtirring world would have laſted ever, to take and entertaine men and boyes, which boyes are grown men, and keepers of houſes; ſo that the number of watermen, and thoſe that live and are maintained by them, and by the only labour of the oare and ſcull, betwixt the bridge of Windſor and Graveſend, cannot be fewer than *forty thouſand*; the cauſe of the greater halfe of which multitude hath bene the players playing on *the Bankſide*; for I have known three companies, beſides the bear-baiting, at once there; to wit, *the Globe*, *the Roſe*, and *the Swan*.

"And now it hath pleaſed God in this peaceful time, [from 1604 to 1613,] that there is no employment at the ſea, as it hath bene accuſtomed, ſo that all thoſe great numbers of men remaines at home; and the players have all (except the kings men) left their uſual reſidency on *the Bankſide*, and doe play in Middleſex, far remote from the Thames; ſo *that every day in the weeke they do draw unto them three or four thouſand people*, that were uſed to ſpend their monies by water."

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pany probably were conveyed by water;[8] to that in *Blackfriars*, the gentry went either in coaches,[9]

" His majeſties players did exhibit a petition againſt us, in which they ſaid, that our ſuit was unreaſonable, and that we might as juſtly remove the Exchange, the walkes in Pauls, or Moorfields, to the Bankſide, for our profits, as to confine them."

The affair appears never to have been decided. " Some (ſays Taylor) have reported that I took bribes of the players, to let the ſuit fall, and to that purpoſe I had a ſupper of them, at *the Cardinal's hat*, on the Bankſide." *Works* of Taylor the water-poet, p. 171, edit. 1633.

[8] See an epilogue to a vacation-play at *the Globe*, by Sir William D'Avenant; *Works*, p. 245:

" For your own ſakes, poor ſouls, you had not beſt
" Believe my fury was ſo much ſuppreſt
" I' the heat of the laſt ſcene, as now you may
" Boldly and ſafely too cry down our play;
" For if you dare but murmur one falſe note,
" Here in the houſe, or going to *take boat*;
" By heaven I'll mow you off with my long ſword,
" *Yeoman* and *ſquire*, *knight*, *lady*, and her *lord*."

So, in *The Guls Hornebook*, 1609: " If you can either for love or money, provide your ſelfe a lodging by the water-ſide;—it adds a kind of ſtate to you to be carried from thence to the *ſtaires of your playhouſe*."

[9] See a letter from Mr. Garrard to Lord Strafford, dated Jan. 9, 1633-4; Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 175: " Here hath been an order of the lords of the council hung up in a table near *Paul's* and *the Black-fryars*, to command all that reſort to the playhouſe there, to ſend away their *coaches*, and to diſperſe abroad in *Paul's Churchyard*, *Carter Lane*, *the Conduit* in *Fleet Street*, and other places, and not to return to fetch their company; but they muſt trot a-foot to find their *coaches*:—'twas kept very ſtrictly for two or three weeks, but now, I think, it is diſordered again."—It ſhould, however, be remembered that this was written above forty years after Shakſpeare's firſt acquaintance with the theatre. Coaches, in the time of Queen Elizabeth were poſſeſſed but by very few. They were not in ordinary uſe till after the year 1605. See Stowe's *Annals*, p. 867.

In *A pleaſant Dialogue between Coach and Sedan*, 4to. 1636, it is ſaid, that " the firſt coach that was ſeen in England was that preſented to Queen Elizabeth by the Earl of Arundel, in which ſhe went from Somerſet-Houſe to St. Paule's Croſſe, to hear a ſermon on the victory obtained againſt the Spaniards in 1588."

or on horſeback; and the common people on foot.[2]

"I wonder in my heart," (ſays the writer, who was born in 1578,) "why our nobilitie cannot in faire weather walke the ſtreets as they were wont; as I have ſeene the Earles of Shrewſbury, Darbie, Suſſex, Cumberland, Eſſex, &c.—beſides thoſe inimitable preſidents of courage and valour, Sir Frances Drake, Sir P. Sydney, Sir Martin Forbiſher, &c. with a number of others,—when a coach was almoſt as rare as an elephant."

Even when the above mentioned order was made, there were no *hackney* coaches. Theſe, as appears from another letter in the ſame collection, were eſtabliſhed a few months afterwards. "I cannot (ſays Mr. Garrard) omit to mention any new thing that comes up amongſt us, though never ſo trivial. Here is one captain Bailey; he hath been a ſea-captain, but now lives on the land, about this city, where he tries experiments. He hath erected, according to his ability, ſome *four hackney coaches*, put his men in livery, and appointed them to ſtand at the *May-pole* in the *Strand*, giving them inſtructions at what rates to carry men into ſeveral parts of the town, where all day they may be had. Other hackney-men ſeeing this way, they flocked to the ſame place, and perform their journeys at the ſame rate. So that ſometimes there is twenty of them together, which diſperſe up and down, that they and others are to be had every where, as water-men are to be had by the water-ſide. Every body is much pleaſed with it. For whereas, before, coaches could not be had but at great rates, now a man may have one much cheaper." This letter is dated April 1, 1634.—Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 227.

A few months afterwards hackney chairs were introduced: "Here is alſo another project for carrying people up and down in *cloſe chairs*, for the ſole doing whereof, Sir Sander Duncombe, a traveller, now a penſioner, hath obtained a patent from the king, and hath forty or fifty making ready for uſe." *Ibid.* p. 336.

This ſpecies of conveyance had been uſed long before in Italy, from whence probably this *traveller* introduced it. See Florio's Italian Dictionary, 1598, in v. *Carrizola:* "A kinde of chaire covered, uſed in *Italie* for to carrie men up and downe by porters, unſeene of anie bodie." In his ſecond edition, 1611, he defines it, "A kind of covered chaire uſed in Italy, wherein men and women are carried by porters *upon their ſhoulders*."

[2] See p. 260, n. 6. In an epigram by Sir John Davies, perſons of an inferior rank are ridiculed for preſuming to imitate noblemen and gentlemen in riding to the theatre:

Plays in the time of King James the Firſt, (and probably afterwards,) appear to have been performed every day at each theatre during the winter ſeaſon,[3] except in the time of Lent, when they were not permitted on the ſermon days, as they were called, that is, on Wedneſday and Friday; nor on the other days of the week, except by ſpecial licence; which however was obtained by a fee paid to the Maſter of the Revells. In the ſummer ſeaſon the ſtage exhibitions were continued, but during the long vacation they were leſs frequently repeated. However, it appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript, that the king's company uſually brought out two or three new plays at the Globe every ſummer.[4]

" Fauſtus, nor lord, nor knight, nor wiſe, nor old,
" To every place about the town doth *ride*;
" He *rides* into the fields, *plays to behold*;
" He rides to take boat at the water-ſide."
Epigrams, printed at Middleburg, about 1598.

[3] See Taylor's *Suit of the Watermen*, &c. Works, p. 171: " But my love is ſuch to them, [the players,] that whereas they do play but once a day, I could be content they ſhould play twice or thrice a day." The players have all (except the Kings men,) left their uſual reſidency on the Bankſide, and doe play in Middleſex far remote from the Thames, ſo that *every day* in the week they do draw unto them three or four thouſand people." *Ibidem.*

In 1598, Hentzner ſays, plays were performed in the theatres which were then open, *almoſt* every day. " Sunt porro Londini extra urbem theatra aliquot, in quibus hiſtriones Angli comœdias et tragœdias ſingulis fere diebus in magna hominum frequentia agunt." *Itin.* 4to. 1598.

[4] In D'Avenant's Works we find " an Epilogue to a *vacation* play at the Globe." See alſo the Epiſtle to the Reader, prefixed to *Andromache*, a tragedy acted at the Duke's theatre, in 1675: " This play happening to be in my hands in the *long vacation*, time when the playhouſes are willing to catch at any reed to ſav themſelves from ſinking, to do the houſe a kindneſs, and to ſer the gentleman who it ſeemed was deſirous to ſee it on the ſtage,

Though, from the want of newſpapers and other periodical publications, intelligence was not ſo ſpeedily circulated in former times as at preſent, our ancient theatres do not appear to have laboured under any diſadvantage in this reſpect; for the players printed and expoſed accounts of the pieces that they intended to exhibit,[5] which, however, did not contain a liſt of the characters, or the names of the actors by whom they were repreſented.[6]

willingly peruſed it.—The play deſerved a better liking than it found; and had it been acted in the good well meaning times, when the *Cid*, *Heraclius*, and other French playes met with ſuch applauſe, this would have paſſed very well; but ſince our audiences have taſted ſo plentifully the firm Engliſh wit, theſe thin *regalios* will not down."

5 "They uſe to ſet up their billes upon poſts ſome certaine days before, to admoniſh the people to make reſort to their theatres, that they may thereby be the better furniſhed, and the people prepared to fill their purſes with their treaſures." *Treatiſe againſt Idleneſs, vaine Playes and Interludes*, bl. l. (no date).

The antiquity of this cuſtom likewiſe appears from a ſtory recorded by Taylor the water-poet, under the head of *Wit and Mirth*. 30. "Maſter Field, the player, riding up Fleet-ſtreet a great pace, a gentleman called him, and aſked him, what play was played that day. He being angry to be ſtaied on ſo frivolous a demand, anſwered, that he might ſee what play was plaied upon every *poſte*. I cry you mercy, ſaid the gentleman, I tooke you for a *poſte*, you rode ſo faſt." Taylor's *Works*, p. 183.

Ames, in his *Hiſtory of Printing*, p. 342, ſays that James Roberts [who publiſhed ſome of our author's dramas] printed *bills for the players*.

It appears from the following entry on the Stationers' books that even the right of printing play-bills was at one time made a ſubject of monopoly:

"Oct. 1587. John Charlewoode.] Lycenſed to him by the whole conſent of the aſſiſtants, the *onlye* ymprinting of all manner of *billes for players*. Provided that if any trouble ariſe herebye, then *Charlewoode* to beare the charges."

6 This practice did not commence till the beginning of the preſent century. I have ſeen a play-bill printed in the year 1697, which expreſſed only the titles of the two pieces that were to be exhibited, and the time when they were to be repreſented. Notices

The long and whimſical titles which are prefixed to the quarto copies of our author's plays, were undoubtedly either written by bookſellers, or tranſcribed from the play-bills of the time.[7] They were equally calculated to attract the notice of the idle gazer in the walks at St. Paul's, or to draw a croud about ſome vociferous Autolycus, who perhaps was hired by the players thus to raiſe the expectations of the multitude. It is indeed abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the modeſt Shakſpeare, who has more than once apologized for his *untutored lines*, ſhould in his

of plays to be performed on a future day, ſimilar to thoſe now daily publiſhed, firſt appeared in the original edition of the *Spectator* in 1711. In theſe early theatrical advertiſements our author is always ſtyled the *immortal* Shakſpeare. Hence Pope:

" Shakſpeare, whom you and every *play-houſe bill*
" Style the *divine*, the matchleſs, what you will,—."

[7] Since the firſt edition of this eſſay I have found ſtrong reaſon to believe that the former was the caſe. Naſhe in the ſecond edition of his *Supplication to the Devil*, 4to. 1592, complains that the *printer* had prefixed a pompous title to the firſt impreſſion of his pamphlet, (publiſhed in the ſame year,) which he was much aſhamed of, and rejected for one more ſimple. " Cut off," ſays he to his printer, " that long-tayld title, and let mee not in the fore-front of my booke make a tedious mountebanks oration to the reader." The printer's title, with which Naſhe was diſpleaſed is as follows: " *Pierce Pennileſſe his Supplication to the Divell, deſcribing the over-ſpreading of Vice and ſuppreſſion of Vertue. Pleaſantly interlaced with variable delights, and pathetically intermixt with conceipted reproofes.* Written by Thomas Naſhe, Gent. 1592." There is a ſtriking reſemblance between this and the titles prefixed to ſome of the copies of our author's plays, which are given at length in the next note. In the title-page of our author's *Merry Wives of Windſor*, 4to. 1602, (ſee the next note,) *Sir Hugh* is called the Welch *knight*; a miſtake into which Shakſpeare could not have fallen.

Inſtead of the ſpurious title above given, Naſhe in his ſecond edition, printed apparently under his own inſpection, (by Abel Jeffes, for John Buſbie,) calls his book only—*Pierce Pennileſſe his Supplication to the Divell.*

manuſcripts have entitled any of his dramas *moſt excellent and pleaſant* performances.[8]

[8] The titles of the following plays may ſerve to juſtify what is here advanced:

"The *moſt excellent* Hiſtorie of the Merchant of Venice. With the extreame cruelтie of Shylocke the Jewe towards the ſayd Merchant, in cutting a juſt pound of his fleſh, and obtayning of Portia by the choyſe of three caſkets. As it hath been diverſe times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants. Written by William Shakeſpeare. 1600."

"Mr. William Shak-ſpeare his True Chronicle Hiſtorie of the Life and Death of King LEAR and his three Daughters. With the unfortunate life of Edgar, Sonne and Heire to the Earle of Gloſter, and his ſullen and aſſumed humor of TOM of bedlam: As it was played before the Kings Majeſtie at Whitehall upon S. Stephens Night in Chriſtmaſs Hollidayes. By his Majeſties Servants playing uſually at the Globe on the Bank-ſide. 1608."

"A moſt *Pleaſant* and *Excellent Conceited* Comedie of Syr John Falſtaffe, and the Merry Wives of Windſor. Entermixed with ſundrie variable and pleaſing Humors of Sir Hugh, the Welch Knight, Juſtice Shallow, and his wiſe couſin, Mr. Slender. With the Swaggering Vaine of ancient Piſtoll, and Corporal Nym. By William Shakeſpeare. As it hath been divers times acted by the Right Honourable my Lord Chamberlaines Servants; both before her Majeſtie and elſewhere. 1602."

"The Hiſtory of Henrie the Fourth; With the Battel at Shrewſburie, betweene the King and Lord Henrie Percy, ſurnamed Henry Hot-ſpur of the North. With the humorous conceits of Sir John Falſtaffe. Newly corrected by W. Shakſpeare. 1598."

"The Tragedie of King Richard The Third. Containing his treacherous Plots againſt his brother Clarence: The pitiful Murther of his innocent Nephews: his tiranous uſurpation: with the whole courſe of his deteſted Life, and moſt deſerved Death. As it hath been lately acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants. By William Shakeſpeare. 1597."

"The late and *much-admired* Play, called Pericles Prince of Tyre. With the true Relation of the whole Hiſtorie, adventures, and fortunes, of the ſaid Prince: As alſo, the no leſs ſtrange and worthy accidents in the Birth and Life of his Daughter *Mariana*.

It is uncertain at what time the uſage of giving authors a benefit on the third day of the exhibition of their piece, commenced. Mr. Oldys, in one of his manuſcripts, intimates that dramatick poets had anciently their benefit on the firſt day that a new play was repreſented; a regulation which would have been very favourable to ſome of the ephemeral productions of modern times. I have found no authority which proves this to have been the caſe in the time of Shakſpeare; but at the beginning of the preſent century it appears to have been cuſtomary in Lent for the *players* of the theatre in Drury-lane to divide the profits of the firſt repreſentation of a new play among them.[9]

From D'Avenant, indeed, we learn, that in the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the poet had his benefit on the ſecond day.[a] As it was a general practice, in the time of Shakſpeare, to ſell the copy of the play to the theatre, I imagine, in ſuch caſes, an author derived no other advantage from his piece, than what aroſe from the ſale of it. Sometimes, however, he found it more beneficial to retain the copy-right in his own hands; and when he did ſo, I ſuppoſe he had a benefit. It is certain that the giving authors the profits of the third exhibition of their play, which ſeems to have

As it hath been divers and ſundry times acted by his Majeſties Servants at the Globe on the Bank-ſide. By William Shakeſpeare. 1609."

[9] Gildon's *Compariſon between the Stages*, 1702, p. 9.

[a] See *The Play-Houſe to be Let:*

" *Players.* —— There is an old tradition,
" That in the times of mighty *Tamberlane*,
" Of conjuring *Fauſtus* and the *Beauchamps bold*,
" You poets us'd to have the *ſecond* day;
" This ſhall be ours, ſir, and to-morrow yours.
" *Poet.* I'll take my venture; 'tis agreed."

been the uſual mode during a great part of the laſt century, was an eſtabliſhed cuſtom in the year 1612; for Decker, in the prologue to one of his comedies, printed in that year, ſpeaks of the poet's *third day*.[3]

The unfortunate Otway had no more than one benefit on the production of a new play; and this too, it ſeems, he was ſometimes forced to mortgage, before the piece was acted.[4] Southerne was the firſt dramatick writer who obtained the emolu-

[3] "It is not praiſe is ſought for now, but pence,
"Though dropp'd from greaſy-apron'd audience.
"Clapp'd may he be with thunder, that plucks bays
"With ſuch foul hands, and with ſquint eyes doth gaze
"On Pallas' ſhield, not caring, ſo he gains
"A cram'd *third day*, what filth drops from his brains!"
Prologue to *If this be not a good Play, the Devil's in't*, 1612.

Yet the following paſſages intimate, that the poet at a ſubſequent period had ſome intereſt in the *ſecond* day's exhibition:

"Whether their ſold ſcenes be diſlik'd or hit,
"Are cares for them who eat by the ſtage and wit;
"He's one whoſe unbought muſe did never fear
"An empty *ſecond* day, or a thin ſhare."
Prologue to *The City Match*, a comedy, by J. Mayne, acted at Blackfriars in 1639.

So, in the prologue to *The Sophy*, by Sir John Denham, acted at Blackfriars in 1642:

"——Gentlemen, if you diſlike the play,
"Pray make no words on't till the *ſecond day*
"Or *third* be paſt; for we would have you know it,
"The loſs will fall on us, not on the poet,
"For he writes not for money.——"

In *other* caſes, then, it may be preſumed, the loſs, either of the *ſecond* or *third* day, *did* affect the author.

Since the above was written, I have learned from Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, that between the year 1625 and 1641, benefits were on the ſecond day of repreſentation.

[4] "But which amongſt you is there to be found,
"Will take his *third day's pay-on*, for fifty pound?"
Epilogue to *Caius Marius*, 1680.

ments ariſing from two repreſentations;[5] and to Farquhar, in the year 1700, the benefit of a third was granted;[6] but this appears to have been a particular favour to that gentleman; for for ſeveral years afterwards dramatick poets had only the benefit of the third and ſixth performance.[7]

The profit of three repreſentations did not become the eſtabliſhed right of authors till after the year 1720.[8]

[5] "I muſt make my boaſt, though with the moſt acknowledging reſpect, of the favours of the fair ſex—in ſo viſibly promoting my intereſt on thoſe days chiefly, (the *third* and the *ſixth*,) when I had the tendereſt relation to the welfare of my play."
Southerne's *Dedication of Sir Antony Love*, a comedy, 1691.
Hence Pope:
"May Tom, whom heaven ſent down to raiſe
"The price of prologues and of plays," &c.
It ſhould ſeem, however, to have been ſome time before this cuſtom was uniformly eſtabliſhed; for the author of *The Treacherous Brothers*, acted in 1696, had only one benefit:
"See't but three days, and fill the houſe, the *laſt*,
"He ſhall not trouble you again in haſte." *Epilogue.*

[6] On the repreſentation of *The Conſtant Couple*, which was performed fifty-three times in the year 1700. Farquhar, on account of the extraordinary ſucceſs of that play, is ſaid by one of his biographers, to have been allowed by the managers, the profits of *four* repreſentations.

[7] "Let this play live; then we ſtand bravely fixt!
"But let none come his *third* day, nor the *ſixth*."
Epilogue to *The Iſland Princeſs*, 1701.
"But ſhould this fail, at leaſt our author prays,
"A truce may be concluded for *ſix* days."
Epilogue to *The Perplex'd Lovers*, 1712.
In the preface to *The Humours of the Army*, printed in the following year, the author ſays, "It would be impertinent to go about to juſtify the play, becauſe a prodigious full third night and a very good *ſixth* are prevailing arguments in its behalf."

[8] Cibber in his Dedication to *Ximena* or *the Heroick Daughter*, printed in 1719, talks of bad plays lingering through *ſix* nights. At that time therefore poets certainly had but two benefits.

To the honour of Mr. Addiſon, it ſhould be remembered, that he firſt diſcontinued the ancient, but humiliating, practice of diſtributing tickets, and ſoliciting company to attend at the theatre, on the poet's nights.[9]

When an author ſold his piece to the ſharers or proprietors of a theatre, it could not be performed by any other company,[a] and remained for ſeveral

[9] Southerne, by this practice, is ſaid to have gained ſeven hundred pounds by one play.

[a] "Whereas William Bieſton, gent. governor of the kings and queenes young company of players at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, has repreſented unto his majeſty, that the ſeverall playes hereafter mentioned, viz. *Wit without Money: The Night-Walkers: The Knight of the Burning Peſtle: Fathers owne Sonne: Cupids Revenge: The Bondman: The Renegado: A new Way to pay Debts: The great Duke of Florence: The Maid of Honour: The Traytor: The Example: The Young Admiral: The Opportunity: A witty fayre One: Loves Cruelty: The Wedding: The Maids Revenge: The Lady of Pleaſure: The Schoole of Complement: The grateful Servant: The Coronation: Hide Parke: Philip Chabot, Admiral of France: A Mad Couple well met: All's loſt by Luſt: The Changeling: A fayre Quarrel: The Spaniſh Gipſie: The World: The Sunnes Darling: Loves Sacrifice: 'Tis pity ſhe's a Whore: George a Greene: Loves Miſtreſs: The Cunning Lovers: The Rape of Lucrece: A Trick to cheat the Divell: A Foole and her Maydenhead ſoone parted: King John and Matilda: A City Night-cap: The Bloody Banquet: Cupids Revenge: The conceited Duke: and Appius and Virginia,* doe all and every of them properly and of right belong to the ſayd houſe, and conſequently that they are all in his propriety. And to the end that any other companies of actors in or about London ſhall not preſume to act any of them to the prejudice of him the ſayd William Bieſton and his company, his majeſty hath ſignified his royal pleaſure unto mee, thereby requiring mee to declare ſoe much to all other companies of actors hereby concernable, that they are not any wayes to intermeddle with or act any of the above-mentioned playes. Whereof I require all maſters and governours of playhouſes, and all others whom it may concerne, to take notice, and to forbeare to impeach the ſayd William Bieſton in the premiſes, as they tender his majeſties diſpleaſure, and will anſwer the contempt. Given, &c. Aug. 10, 1639." MS. in the Lord Chamberlain's office, entitled in the margin, *Cockpitt playes appropried.*

years unpubliſhed;[3] but, when that was not the caſe, he printed it for ſale, to which many ſeem to

[3] Sometimes, however, an author, after having ſold his piece to the theatre, either publiſhed it, or ſuffered it to be printed; but this appears to have been conſidered as diſhoneſt. See the preface to Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, 1638: "I had rather ſubſcribe in that to their weak cenſure, than, by ſeeking to avoid the imputation of weakneſs, to incur a great ſuſpicion of honeſty; for though ſome have uſed a *double* ſale of their labours, firſt to the ſtage, and after to the preſſe," &c.

How careful the proprietors were to guard againſt the publication of the plays which they had purchaſed, appears from the following admonition, directed to the Stationers' Company in the year 1637, by Philip earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, then Lord Chamberlain.

"After my hearty commendations.—Whereas complaint was heretofore preſented to my dear brother and predeceſſor, by his majeſties ſervants, the players, that ſome of the company of printers and ſtationers had procured, publiſhed, and printed, diverſe of their books of comedyes and tragedyes, chronicle hiſtoryes, and the like, which they had (for the ſpecial ſervice of his majeſtye and for their own uſe(bought and provided at very dear and high rates. By means whereof, not only they themſelves had much prejudice, but the books much corruption, to the injury and diſgrace of the authors. And thereupon the maſter and wardens of the company of printers and ſtationers were adviſed by my brother to take notice thereof, and to take order for the ſtay of any further impreſſion of any of the playes or interludes of his majeſties ſervants without their conſents; which being a caution given with ſuch reſpect, and grounded on ſuch weighty reaſons, both for his majeſties ſervice and the particular intereſt of the players, and ſoe agreeable to common juſtice and that indifferent meaſure which every man would look for in his own particular, it might have been preſumed that they would have needed no further order or direction in the buſineſs, notwithſtanding which, I am informed that ſome copies of playes belonging to the king and queenes ſervants, the players, and purchaſed by them at dear rates, having been lately ſtollen or gotten from them by indirect means, are now attempted to be printed, and that ſome of them are at the preſs, and ready to be printed; which, if it ſhould be ſuffered, would directly tend to their apparent detriment and great prejudice, and to the diſenabling them to do their majeſties ſervice: for prevention and redreſſe whereof, it is deſired that order be given and entered by the maſter and wardens of the company of printers and ſtationers, that if any

have been induced from an apprehenſion that an imperfect copy might be iſſued from the preſs without their conſent.[4] The cuſtomary price of the copy of a play, in the time of Shakſpeare, appears to have been twenty nobles, or ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four-pence.[5] The play when

playes be already entered, or ſhall hereafter be brought unto the hall to be entered for printing, that notice thereof be given to the king and queenes ſervants, the players, and an enquiry made of them to whom they do belong; and that none bee ſuffered to be printed untill the aſſent of their majeſties' ſaid ſervants be made appear to the Maſter and Wardens of the company of printers and ſtationers, by ſome certificate in writing under the hands of John Lowen, and Joſeph Taylor, for the kings ſervants, and of Chriſtopher Beeſton for the king and queenes young company, or of ſuch other perſons as ſhall from time to time have *the direction* of theſe companies; which is a courſe that can be hurtfull unto none but ſuch as are about unjuſtly to peravatyle themſelves of others' goods, without reſpect of order or good governement; which I am confident you will be careful to avoyd, and therefore I recommend it to your ſpecial care. And if you ſhall have need of any further authority or power either from his majeſtye or the counſell-table, the better to enable you in the execution thereof, upon notice given to mee either by yourſelves or the players, I will endeavour to apply that further remedy thereto, which ſhall be requiſite. And ſoe I bidd you very heartily farewell, and reſt

" Your very loving friend,

" June 10, 1637. P. and M.

" To the Maſter and Wardens of the Company of Printers and Stationers."

[4] " One only thing affects me; to think, that ſcenes invented merely to be ſpoken, ſhould be inforcively publiſhed to be read; and that the leaſt hurt I can receive, is, to do myſelf the wrong. But ſince others otherwiſe would do me more, the leaſt inconvenience is to be accepted: I have therefore myſelf ſet forth this comedie." Marſton's pref. to *The Malcontent*, 1604.

[5] See *The Defence of Coneycatching*, 1592: " Maſter R. G. Robert Greene] would it not make you bluſh—if you ſold *Orlando Furioſo* to the queenes players for *twenty nobles*, and when they were in the country, ſold the ſame play to Lord Admirals men, for as much more? Was not this plain coneycatching, M. G.?"

printed was ſold for ſixpence;[6] and the uſual pre-

Oldys, in one of his manuſcripts, ſays, that Shakſpeare received but *five pounds* for his *Hamlet*; whether from the players who firſt acted it, or the printer or bookſeller who firſt publiſhed it, is not diſtinguiſhed. I do not believe he had any good authority for this aſſertion.

In the latter end of the laſt century, it ſhould ſeem, an author did not uſually receive more from his bookſeller for a dramatick performance than 20l. or 25l. for, Dryden in a letter to his ſon, written about the year 1698, mentions, that the whole emoluments which he expected from a new play that he was about to produce, would not exceed one hundred pounds. Otway and Lee got but that ſum by *Venice Preſerved*, *The Orphan*, *Theodoſius*, and *Alexander the Great*; as Gildon, their contemporary, informs us. The profits of the third night were probably ſeventy pounds; the dedication produced either five or ten guineas, according to the munificence of the patron; and the reſt aroſe from the ſale of the copy.

Southerne, however, in conſequence of the extraordinary ſucceſs of his *Fatal Marriage* in 1694, ſold the copy of that piece for thirty-ſix pounds, as appears from a letter which has been kindly communicated to me by my friend, the Right Hon.ble Mr. Windham, and which, as it contains ſome new ſtage anecdotes, I ſhall print entire. This letter has been lately found by Mr. Windham among his father's papers, at Felbrigge, in Norfolk; but, the ſignature being wanting, by whom it was written has not been aſcertained:

" Dear Sir, London, March the 22, 1693-4.

" I received but 10 days ſince the favour of your obliging letter, dated January the laſt, for which I return you a thouſand thanks. I wiſh my ſcribbling could be diverting to you, I ſhould often trouble you with my letters; but there is hardly any thing now to make it acceptable to you, but an account of our winter diverſions, and chiefly of the new plays which have been the entertainment of the town.

" The firſt that was acted was Mr. Congreve's, called *The Double Dealer*. It has fared with that play, as it generally does with beauties officiouſly cried up; the mighty expectation which was raiſed of it made it ſink, even beneath its own merit. The character of *The Double Dealer* is artfully writt, but the action being but ſingle, and confined within the rules of true comedy, it could not pleaſe the generality of our audience, who reliſh nothing but variety, and think any thing dull and heavy which does not border upon farce.—The criticks were ſevere upon this play, which gave the author occaſion to laſh 'em in his Epiſtle Dedicatory, in ſo defying or hectoring a ſtyle, that it was counted rude even by his

ſent from a patron, in return for a dedication, was forty ſhillings.[7]

beſt friends; ſo that 'tis generally thought he has done his buſineſs, and loſt himſelf: a thing he owes to Mr. Dryden's treacherous friendſhip, who, being jealous of the applauſe he had gott by his *Old Batchelour*, deluded him into a fooliſh imitation of his own way of writing angry prefaces.

"The 2d play is Mr. Dryden's, called *Love Triumphant, or Nature will prevail.* It is a tragi-comedy, but in my opinion one of the worſt he ever writt, if not the very worſt; the comical part deſcends beneath the ſtyle and ſhew of a Bartholomew-fair droll. It was damn'd by the univerſal cry of the town, *nemine contradicente*, but the conceited poet. He ſays in his prologue, that this is the laſt the town muſt expect from him: he had done himſelf a kindneſs had he taken his leave before.

"The 3d is Mr. Southern's, calld *The Fatal Marriage, or the Innocent Adultery.* It is not only the beſt that author ever writt, but is generally admired for one of the greateſt ornaments of the ſtage, and the moſt entertaining play has appeared upon it theſe 7 years. The plot is taken from Mrs. Behn's novel, calld *The Unhappy Vow-Breaker.* I never ſaw Mrs. Barry act with ſo much paſſion as ſhe does in it; I could not forbear being moved even to tears to ſee her act. Never was poet better rewarded or incouraged by the town; for beſides an extraordinary full houſe, which brought him about 140l. 50 noblemen, among whom my lord Winchelſea was one, gave him guineas apiece, and the printer 36l. for his copy.

"This kind uſage will encourage deſponding minor poets, and vex huffing Dryden and Congreve to madneſs.

"We had another new play yeſterday, called *The Ambitious Slave, or a generous Revenge.* Elkanah Settle is the author of it, and the ſucceſs is anſwerable to his reputation. I never ſaw a piece ſo wretched, nor worſe contrived. He pretends 'tis a Perſian ſtory, but not one body in the whole audience could make any thing of it; 'tis a mere babel, and will ſink for ever. The poor poet, ſeeing the houſe would not act it for him, and give him the benefit of the third day, made a preſent of it to the women in the houſe, who act it, but without profit or incouragement."

In 1707 the common price of the copy-right of a play was fifty pounds; though in that year Lintot the bookſeller gave Edmund Smith ſixty guineas for his *Phædra and Hippolytus.*

In 1715, Sir Richard Steele ſold Mr. Addiſon's comedy, called *The Drummer*, to J. Tonſon for fifty pounds: and in 1721, Dr. Young received the ſame price for his tragedy of *The Revenge.*

On the firſt day of exhibiting a new play, the prices of admiſſion appear to have been raiſed,[8] ſometimes to double, ſometimes to treble, prices;[9] and this ſeems to have been occaſionally practiſed

Two years before, however, (1719) Southerne, who ſeems to have underſtood author-craft better than any of his contemporaries, ſold his *Spartan Dame* for the extraordinary ſum of 120l.; and in 1726 Lintot paid the celebrated plagiary, James Moore Smyth, one hundred guineas for a comedy entitled *The Rival Modes*. From that time, this appears to have been the cuſtomary price for ſeveral years; but of late, (though rarely) one hundred and fifty pounds have been given for a new play. The fineſt tragick poet of the preſent age, MR. JEPHSON, received that price for two of his admirable tragedies.

[6] See the preface to the quarto edition of *Troilus and Creſſida*, 1609: "Had I time, I would comment upon it, though it needs not, for ſo much as will make you think your *teſterne* well beſtowed, but for ſo much worth as even poor I know to be ſtuft in it," &c.

See alſo the preface to Randolph's *Jealous Lovers*, a comedy, 1632: "Courteous reader, I beg thy pardon, if I put thee to the expence of a *ſixpence*, and the loſs of half an hour."

[7] "I did determine not to have *dedicated* my play to any body, becauſe *forty ſhillings* I care not for; and above, few or none will beſtow on theſe matters." Dedication to *A Woman's a Weathercock*, a comedy, by N. Field, 1612.

See alſo *the Author's Epiſtle popular*, prefixed to *Cynthia's Revenge*, 1613: "Thus do our pie-bald naturaliſts depend upon poor wages, gape after the drunken harveſt of *forty ſhillings*, and ſhame the worthy *benefactors of Helicon*."

Soon after the Revolution, five, and ſometimes ten, guineas ſeems to have been the cuſtomary preſent on theſe occaſions. In the time of George the Firſt, it appears from one of Swift's Letters that twenty guineas were uſually preſented to an author for this piece of flattery.

[8] This may be collected from the following verſes by J. Mayne, to the memory of Ben Jonſon:

"He that writes well, writes quick, ſince the rule's true,
"Nothing is ſlowly done, that's always new;
"So when thy *Fox* had ten times acted been,
"Each *day* was *firſt*, but that 'twas *cheaper ſeen*."

[9] See the laſt line of the Prologue to *Tunbridge Wells*, 1672, quoted in p. 206, n. 9.

on the benefit-nights of authors, and on the repreſentation of expenſive plays, to the year 1726 in the preſent century.[2]

Dramatick poets in ancient times, as at preſent, were admitted gratis into the theatre.[3]

[2] Downes, ſpeaking of *The Squire of Alſatia*, acted in 1688, ſays, "the poet received for his third day in the houſe in Drury Lane at *ſingle prices*, 130l. which was the greateſt receipt they ever had at *ſingle prices*." Hence it appears that the prices were ſometimes raiſed; and after the Reſtoration the additional prices were, I believe, demanded during what is called in the language of the theatre the firſt run of a new piece. At leaſt this was the caſe in the preſent century. See the Epilogue to *Hecuba*, a tragedy, 1726:

"What, a new play, without new ſcenes and cloaths!
"Without a friendly party from the Roſe!
"And what againſt *a run* ſtill prepoſſeſſes,
"'Twas on the bills put up at *common prices*."

See alſo the Epilogue to *Love at firſt ſight*:

"Wax tapers, gawdy cloaths, *rais'd prices* too,
"Yet even the play thus garniſh'd would not do."

In 1702 the prices of admiſſion were in a fluctuating ſtate. "The people," ſays Gildon, "never were in a better humour for plays, nor were the houſes ever ſo crowded, though *the rates have run very high*, ſometimes to a ſcandalous exceſs; never did printed plays riſe to ſuch a price,—never were ſo many poets preferred as in the laſt ten years." *Compariſon between the two ſtages*, 1702. The price of a printed play about that time roſe to eighteenpence.

[3] See Verſes by J. Stephens, "to his worthy friend," H. Fitz-Jeoffery, on his *Notes from Black-fryers*, 1617:

"——— I muſt,
"Though it be a player's vice to be unjuſt
"To verſe not yielding coyne, let players know,
"They cannot recompence your labour, though
"They grace you with a chayre upon the ſtage,
"*And take no money of you nor your page.*"

So, in *The Play-houſe to be let*, by Sir W. D'Avenant:

"*Poet.* Do you ſet up for yourſelves, and profeſs wit,
"Without help of your authors? Take heed, ſirs,
"You'll get few cuſtomers.
"*Houſekeeper.* Yes, we ſhall have the *poets*.
"*Poet.* 'Tis becauſe they pay nothing for their entrance."

It appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book that the king's company between the years 1622 and 1641 produced either at Blackfriars or the Globe at leaſt four new plays every year. Every play, before it was repreſented on the ſtage, was licenſed by the Maſter of the Revels, for which he received in the time of Queen Elizabeth but a noble, though at a ſubſequent period the ſtated fee on this occaſion roſe to two pounds.

Neither Queen Elizabeth, nor King James the Firſt, nor Charles the Firſt, I believe, ever went to the publick theatre; but they frequently ordered plays to be performed at court, which were repreſented in the royal theatre called the Cockpit, in Whitehall: and the actors of the king's company were ſometimes commanded to attend his majeſty in his ſummer's progreſs, to perform before him in the country.[4] Queen Henrietta Maria, however, went ſometimes to the publick theatre at Black-

4 "Whereas William Pen, Thomas Hobbes, William Trigg, William Patrick, Richard Baxter, Alexander Gough, *William Hart*, and Richard Hawley, together with ten more or thereabouts of their fellows, his majeſties comedians, and of the regular company of players in the Blackfryers, London, are commaunded to attend his majeſtie, and be nigh about the court this ſummer progreſs, in readineſs, when they ſhall be called upon to act before his majeſtie: for the better enabling and encouraging them whereunto, his majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed that they ſhall, as well before his majeſties ſetting forth on his maine progreſſe, as in all that time, and after, till they ſhall have occaſion to returne homewards, have all freedome and liberty to repayre unto all towns corporate, mercate townes, and other, where they ſhall thinke fitt, and there in their common halls, mootehalls, ſchool-houſes or other convenient roomes, act playes, comedyes, and interludes, without any lett, hinderance, or moleſtation whatſoever, (behaving themſelves civilly). And herein it is his majeſties pleaſure, and he does expect, that in all places where they come, they be treated and entertayned with ſuch due reſpect and courteſie as may become his majeſties loyal and loving ſubjects towards his ſervants. In

friars.[5] I find from the Council-books that in the time of Elizabeth ten pounds was the payment for a play performed before her; that is, twenty nobles, or ſix pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and four-pence, as the regular and ſtated fee; and three pounds, ſix ſhillings, and eight-pence, by way of bounty or

teſtimony whereof I have hereunto ſet my hand and ſeale at arms. Dated at Whitehall, the 17th of May, 1636.

" *To all Mayors*, &c. P. and M."

MS. in the Lord Chamberlain's office.

This is entitled in the margin—*A Player's Paſs.*

William Hart, whoſe name occurs in the foregoing liſt, and who undoubtedly was the eldeſt ſon of Joan Hart, our poet's ſiſter, is mentioned in another warrant, with ten others, as *a dependant* on the players,—" employed by his Majeſties ſervants of the Blackfryers, and of ſpecial uſe unto them, both on the ſtage and otherwiſe."

This paper having eſcaped my memory, when a former part of this work was printing,* I ſuggeſted that *Michael* Hart, our poet's youngeſt nephew, was probably the father of Charles Hart, the celebrated tragedian; but without doubt his father was William, (the elder brother of Michael,) who, we find, ſettled in London, and was an actor. It is highly probable that he left Stratford before his uncle Shakſpeare's death, at which time he was ſixteen years old; and in conſequence of that connexion found an eaſy introduction to the ſtage. He probably married in the year 1625, and his ſon Charles was, I ſuppoſe born in 1626. Before the acceſſion of Charles the Firſt, the chriſtian name of Charles was ſo uncommon, that it ſcarcely ever occurs in our early pariſh-regiſters. Charles Hart was a lieutenant under Sir Thomas Dalliſon in Prince Rupert's regiment, and fought at the battle of Edgehill, at which time, according to my ſuppoſition, he was but ſeventeen years old; but ſuch early exertions were not at that time uncommon. William Hart, who has given occaſion to the preſent note, died in 1639, and was buried at his native town of Stratford on the 28th of March in that year.

[5] " The 13 May, 1634, the Queene was at Blackfryers, to ſee Meſſengers playe."—The play which her majeſty honoured with her preſence was *The Tragedy of Cleander*, which had been produced on the 7th of the ſame month, and is now loſt, with many other pieces of the ſame writer.

* See Vol. I. P. I. p. 162, n. 8, and p. 179, n. 1, of Mr. Malone's edition.

reward. The ſame ſum, as I learn from the manuſcript notes of lord Stanhope, Treaſurer of the Chamber to King James the Firſt, continued to be paid during his reign: and this was the ſtated payment during the reign of his ſucceſſor alſo. Plays at court were uſually performed at night, by which means they did not interfere with the regular exhibition at the publick theatres, which was early in the afternoon; and thus the royal bounty was for ſo much a clear profit to the company: but when a play was commanded to be performed at any of the royal palaces in the neighbourhood of London, by which the actors were prevented from deriving any profit from a publick exhibition on the ſame day, the fee, as appears from a manuſcript in the Lord Chamberlain's office, was, in the year 1630, and probably in Shakſpeare's time alſo, twenty pounds;[6] and this circumſtance I formerly ſtated,

6 "Whereas by virtue of his majeſties letters patent, bearing date the 16th of June, 1625, made and graunted in confirmation of diverſe warrants and privy ſeales unto you formerly directed in the time of our late ſoveraigne King James, you are authorized (amongſt other things) to make payment for playes acted before his majeſty and the queene. Theis are to pray and require you, out of his majeſties treaſure in your charge, to pay or cauſe to be payed unto *John Lowing*, in the behalfe of himſelfe and the reſt of the company his majeſties players, the ſum of two hundred and ſixty pounds; that is to ſay, *twenty pounds* apiece for four playes acted at Hampton Court, in reſpect and conſideration of the travaile and expence of the whole company in dyet and lodging during the time of their attendance there; and the like ſomme of *twenty pounds* for one other play which was acted in *the day-time* at Whitehall, by meanes whereof the players loſt the benefit of their houſe for *that day*; and *ten pounds* apiece for ſixteen other playes acted before his majeſty at Whitehall: amounting in all unto the ſum of two hundred and ſixty pounds for one and twenty playes his majeſties ſervaunts acted before his majeſtie and the queene at ſeverall times, between the 30th of Sept. and 21ſt of Feb. laſt paſt. As it may appeare by the annexed ſchedule.

"And theis, &c. March 17, 1630-1."

MS. in the Lord Chamberlain's office.

as ſtrongly indicating that the ſum laſt mentioned was a very conſiderable produce on any one repreſentation at the Blackfriars or Globe playhouſe. The office-book which I have ſo often quoted, has fully confirmed my conjecture.

The cuſtom of paſſing a final cenſure on plays at their firſt exhibition,[7] is as ancient as the time of our author; for no leſs than three plays[8] of his rival, Ben Jonſon, appear to have been deſervedly

[7] The cuſtom of expreſſing diſapprobation of a play, and interrupting the drama, by the noiſe of *catcals*, or at leaſt by imitating the tones of a cat, is probably as ancient as Shakſpeare's time; for Decker in his *Guls Hornebook*, counſels the gallant, if he wiſhes to diſgrace the poet, "to *whew* at the children's action, to whiſtle at the ſongs, and *mew* at the paſſionate ſpeeches." See alſo the induction to *The Iſle of Gulls*, a comedy, 1606: "Either ſee it all or none; for 'tis grown into a cuſtom at plays, if any one riſe, (eſpecially of any faſhionable ſort,) about what ſerious buſineſs ſoever, the reſt, thinking it in diſlike of the play, (though he never thinks it,) cry—'*mew*,—by Jeſus, vile,'—and leave the poor heartleſs children to ſpeak their epilogue to the empty ſeats."

[8] *Sejanus*, *Catiline*, and *The New Inn*. Of the two former, Jonſon's *Ghoſt* is thus made to ſpeak in an epilogue to *Every Man in his Humour*, written by Lord Buckhurſt, about the middle of the laſt century:

"Hold, and give way, for I myſelf will ſpeak;
"Can you encourage ſo much inſolence,
"And add new faults ſtill to the great offence
"Your anceſtors ſo raſhly did commit,
"Againſt the mighty powers of art and wit,
"When they condemn'd thoſe noble works of mine,
"*Sejanus*, and my beſt-lov'd *Catiline?*"

The title-page of *The New Inn*, is a ſufficient proof of its condemnation. Another piece of this writer does not ſeem to have met with a very favourable reception; for Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden (Jonſon's friend) informs us, that "when the play of *The Silent Woman* was firſt acted, there were found verſes, after, on the ſtage, againſt him, [the author,] concluding, that that play was well named The *Silent* Woman, becauſe there was never one man to ſay *plaudite* to it." Drummond's *Works*, fol. p. 226.

damned;[9] and Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdeſs*,[2] and *The Knight of the burning Peſtle*, written by him and Beaumont, underwent the ſame fate.[3]

It is not eaſy to aſcertain what were the emoluments of a ſucceſsful actor in the time of Shakſpeare. They had not then annual benefits, as at preſent.[4] The clear emoluments of the theatre, after deducting the nightly expences for lights, men occaſionally hired for the evening, &c. which in Shakſpeare's houſe was but forty-five ſhillings, were divided into ſhares, of which part belonged to the proprietors,

[9] The term, as well as the practice, is ancient. See the epilogue to *The Unfortunate Lovers*, by Sir W. D'Avenant, 1643:

" ——————— Our poet——
" ——will never wiſh to ſee us thrive,
" If by an humble epilogue we ſtrive
" To court from you that privilege to-day,
" Which you ſo long have had, to *damn a play*."

[2] See in p. 227, (n. 3,) Verſes addreſſed to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdeſs*.

[3] See the epiſtle prefixed to the firſt edition of *The Knight of the burning Peſtle*, in 1613.

[4] Cibber ſays in his *Apology*, p. 96, " Mrs. Barry was the firſt perſon whoſe merit was diſtinguiſhed by the indulgence of having an annual benefit-play, which was granted to her alone, if I miſtake not, firſt in King James's time; and which became not common to others, till the diviſion of this company, after the death of King William's queen Mary."

But in this as in many other facts he is inaccurate; for it appears from an agreement entered into by Dr. D'Avenant, Charles Hart, Thomas Betterton, and others, dated October 14, 1681, that the actors had *three* benefits. By this agreement five ſhillings, apiece, were to be paid to Hart and Kynaiton the players, " for every day there ſhall be any tragedies or comedies or other repreſentations acted at the Duke's theatre in Saliſbury-court, or wherever the company ſhall act, during the reſpective lives of the ſaid Charles Hart and Edward Kynaiton, *excepting the days the young men or boys* [illegible] *play for their own profit only*." Gildon's *Life of Betterton*, p. 8.

who were called houſekeepers, and the remainder was divided among the actors, according to their rank and merit. I ſuſpect that the whole clear receipt was divided into forty ſhares, of which perhaps the houſekeepers or proprietors had fifteen, the actors twenty-two, and three were devoted to the purchaſe of new plays, dreſſes, &c. From Ben Jonſon's *Poetaſter*, it ſhould ſeem that one of the performers had ſeven ſhares and a half;[5] but of what integral ſum is not mentioned. The perſon alluded to, (if any perſon was alluded to, which is not certain,) muſt, I think, have been a proprietor, as well as a principal actor. Our poet in his *Hamlet* ſpeaks of a *whole ſhare*, as no contemptible emolument; and from the ſame play we learn that ſome of the performers had only half a ſhare.[6] Others probably had ſtill leſs.

5 "*Tucca.* Fare thee well, my honeſt penny-biter: commend me to *ſeven ſhares and a half*, and remember to-morrow.—If you lack a *ſervice*, you ſhall play in my name, raſcals; [alluding to the cuſtom of actors calling themſelves the *ſervants* of certain noblemen,] but you ſhall buy your own cloth, and I'll have *two ſhares* for my countenance." *Poetaſter*, 1602.

6 "Would not this, ſir, and a foreſt of feathers, (if the reſt of my fortunes turn Turk with me,) with two Provencial roſes on my razed ſhoes, get me a fellowſhip in a cry of players, ſir?

"*Hor.* Half a ſhare.

"*Ham.* A whole ſhare, I." *Hamlet*, Act III. ſc. ii.

In a poem entitled *I would and I would not*, by B. N. 1614, the writer makes a player utter a wiſh to poſſeſs *five ſhares* in every play; but I do not believe that any performer derived ſo great an emolument from the ſtage, unleſs he were alſo a proprietor. The ſpeaker ſeems to wiſh for excellence that was never yet attained, (to be able to act every part that was ever written,) that he might gain an emolument *ſuperior* to any then acquired by the moſt popular and ſucceſsful actor:

"I would I were a player, and could act
"As many partes as came upon a ſtage,
"And in my braine could make a full compact
"Of all that paſſeth betwixt youth and age;

It appears from a deed executed by Thomas Killigrew and others, that in the year 1666, the whole profit ariſing from acting plays, maſques, &c. at the king's theatre, was divided into *twelve ſhares and three quarters*,[7] of which Mr. Killigrew, the manager, had two ſhares and three quarters; and if we may truſt to the ſtatement in another very

" That I might have *five ſhares* in every play,
" And let them laugh that bear the bell away."

The actors were treated with leſs reſpect than at preſent, being ſometimes interrupted during their performance, on account of ſuppoſed perſonalities; for the ſame author adds—

" And yet I would not; for then do I feare,
" If I ſhould gall ſome *goſſe-cap* with my ſpeech,
" That he would freat, and fume, and chafe, and ſwear,
" As if ſome flea had bit him by the breech;
" And in ſome paſſion or ſtrange agonie
" Diſturb both mee and all the companie."

On ſome occaſions application was made by individuals to the Maſter of the Revels, to reſtrain this licentiouſneſs of the ſtage; as appears from the following note:

" Octob. 1633. Exception was taken by Mr. Sewſter to the ſecond part of *The Citty Shuffler*, which gave me occaſion to ſtay the play, till the company [of Saliſbury Court] had given him ſatisfaction; which was done the next day, and under his hande he did certifye mee that he was ſatisfyed." *MS. Herbert.*

[7] In an indenture tripartite, dated December 31, 1666, (which I have ſeen) between Thomas Killigrew and Henry Killigrew, his ſon and heir, of the firſt part, Thomas Porter, Eſq. of the ſecond part, and Sir John Sayer and Dame Catharine Sayer, his wife, of the third part, it is recited, (*inter alia*,) that the profits ariſing by acting of plays, maſques, &c. then performed by the company of actors called the king and queen's players, were by agreement amongſt themſelves and Thomas Killigrew, divided into *twelve ſhares and three quarters*, and that Thomas Killigrew was to have two full ſhares and three quarters. And by agreement between Henry and Thomas, Henry was to have four pounds *per* week, out of the two ſhares of Thomas, except ſuch weeks when the players did not act.

In 1682, when the two companies united, the profits of acting, we are told by Colley Cibber, were divided into *twenty ſhares*, ten of which went to the proprietors or patentees, and the other moiety to the actors, in different diviſions proportioned to their merit.

curious paper, inſerted below, (which however was probably exaggerated,) each ſhare produced, at the loweſt calculation, about 250l.[8] per ann. *net*; and the total clear profits conſequently were about 3187l. 10s. 0d.

Theſe ſhares were then diſtributed among the proprietors of the theatre, who at that time were not actors, the performers, and the dramatick poets, who were retained in the ſervice of the theatre, and received a part of the annual produce as a compenſation for the pieces which they produced.[9]

[8] Wright ſays in his *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica* that he had been aſſured by an old actor, that "for ſeveral years next after the Reſtoration every whole ſharer in Mr. Hart's company, [that is, the King's ſervants,] got 1000l. *per ann.* But his informer was undoubtedly miſtaken, as is proved by the petition or memorial printed below, (ſee n. 9.) and by Sir Henry Herbert's ſtatement of Thomas Killigrew's profits. If every whole ſharer had got 1000l. *per ann.* then the annual receipts muſt have been near 13000l. In 1743, after Mr. Garrick had appeared, the theatre of Drury-lane did not receive more than 15000l. *per ann.*

[9] Gildon in his *Laws of Poetry*, 8vo. 1721, obſerves, that "after the Reſtoration, when the two houſes ſtruggled for the favour of the town, the taking poets were ſecured to either houſe by a ſort of retaining fee, which ſeldom or never amounted to more than forty ſhillings a week, nor was that of any long continuance." He appears to have under-rated their profits; but the fact to which he alludes is inconteſtably proved by the following paper, which remained long in the hands of the Killigrew family, and is now in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Reed of Staple-Inn, by whom it was obligingly communicated to me ſome years ago. The ſuperſcription is loſt, but it was probably addreſſed to the Lord Chamberlain, or the King, about the year 1678:

"Whereas upon Mr. Dryden's binding himſelf to write three playes a yeere, hee the ſaid Mr. Dryden was admitted and continued as a ſharer in the king's playhouſe for diverſe years, and received for his *ſhare and a quarter* three or four hundred pounds, *communibus annis*; but though he received the moneys, we received not the playes, not one in a yeare. After which, the houſe being burnt, the company in building another, contracted great debts,

In a paper delivered by Sir Henry Herbert to Lord Clarendon and the Lord Chamberlain, July 11,

ſo that ſhares fell much ſhort of what they were formerly. Thereupon Mr. Dryden complaining to the company of his want of proffit, the company was ſo kind to him that they not only did not preſſe him for the playes which he ſo engaged to write for them, and for which he was paid beforehand, but they did alſo at his earneſt requeſt give him a third day for his laſt new play called *All for Love*; and at the receipt of the money of the ſaid third day, he acknowledged it as a guift, and a particular kindneſſe of the company. Yet notwithſtanding this kind proceeding, Mr. Dryden has now, jointly with Mr. Lee, (who was in penſion with us to the laſt day of our playing, and ſhall continue,) written a play called *Oedipus*, and given it to the Duke's company, contrary to his ſaid agreement, his promiſe, and all gratitude, to the great prejudice and almoſt undoing of the company, they being the only poets remaining to us. Mr. Crowne, being under the like agreement with the duke's houſe, writt a play called *The Deſtruction of Jeruſalem*, and being forced by their refuſall of it, to bring it to us, the ſaid company compelled us, after the ſtudying of it, and a vaſt expence in ſcenes and cloathes, to buy off their clayme, by paying all the penſion he had received from them, amounting to one hundred and twelve pounds paid by the king's company, beſides near forty pounds he the ſaid Mr. Crowne paid out of his owne pocket.

"Theſe things conſidered, if notwithſtanding Mr. Dryden's ſaid agreement, promiſe, and moneys freely given him for his ſaid laſt new play, and the many titles we have to his writings, this play be judged away from us, we muſt ſubmit.

(Signed) Charles Killigrew.
Charles Hart.
Rich. Burt.
Cardell Goodman.
Mic. Mohun."

It has been thought very extraordinary that Dryden ſhould enter into a contract to produce three new plays every year; and undoubtedly that any poet ſhould formally *ſtipulate* that his genius ſhould be thus productive, is extraordinary. But the exertion itſelf was in the laſt age not uncommon. In ten years, from the death of Beaumont in 1615 to the year 1625, I have good reaſon to believe that Fletcher produced near thirty plays. Maſſinger between 1623 and 1638 brought out nearly the ſame number; and Shirley in fifteen years furniſhed various theatres with forty plays. Thomas Heywood was ſtill more prolifick.

1662, which will be found in a ſubſequent page, he ſtates the emolument which Mr. Thomas Killigrew then derived (from his two ſhares and three quarters,) at 19l. 6s. 0d. *per* week; according to which ſtatement each ſhare in the king's company produced but two hundred and ten pounds ten ſhillings a year. In Sir William D'Avenant's company, from the time their new theatre was opened in Portugal-row, near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, (April 1662,) the total receipt (after deducting the nightly charges of "men hirelings and other cuſtomary expences,") was divided into fifteen ſhares, of which it was agreed by articles previouſly entered into,[a] that ten ſhould belong to D'Avenant; viz. two "towards the houſe-rent, buildings, ſcaffolding, and making of frames for ſcenes; one for a proviſion of habits, properties, and ſcenes, for a ſupplement of the ſaid theatre; and ſeven to maintain all the women that are to perform or repreſent women's parts, in tragedies, comedies, &c. and in conſideration of erecting and eſtabliſhing his actors to be a company, and his pains and expences for that purpoſe for many years." The other five ſhares were divided in various proportions among the reſt of the troop.

In the paper above referred to it is ſtated by Sir Henry Herbert, that D'Avenant "drew from theſe ten ſhares two hundred pounds a week;" and if that ſtatement was correct, each ſhare in his play-houſe then produced annually ſix hundred pounds, ſuppoſing the acting ſeaſon to have then laſted for thirty weeks.

Such were the emoluments of the theatre ſoon after the Reſtoration; which I have ſtated here, from authentick documents, becauſe they may aſſiſt

[a] Theſe articles will be found in a ſubſequent page.

us in our conjectures concerning the profits derived from ſtage-exhibitions at a more remote and darker period.

From the prices of admiſſion into our ancient theatres in the time of Shakſpeare, which have been already noticed, I formerly conjectured that about twenty pounds was a conſiderable receipt at the Blackfriars and Globe theatre, on any one day; and my conjecture is now confirmed by indiſputable evidence. In Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book I find the following curious notices on this ſubject, under the year 1628:

"The kinges company with a generall conſent and alacritye have given mee the benefitt of too dayes in the yeare, the one in ſummer, thother in winter, to bee taken out of the ſecond daye of a revived playe, att my owne choyſe. The houſe-keepers have likewyſe given their ſhares, their dayly charge only deducted, which comes to ſome 2l. 5s. this 25 May, 1628.

"The benefitt of the firſt day, being a very unſeaſonable one in reſpect of the weather. comes but unto £.4. 15. 0."

This agreement ſubſiſted for five years and a half, during which time Sir Henry Herbert had ten benefits, the moſt profitable of which produced ſeventeen pounds, and ten ſhillings, *net*, on the 22d of Nov. 1628, when Fletcher's *Cuſtom of the Country* was performed at Blackfriars; and the leaſt emolument which he received was on the repreſentation of a play which is not named, at the Globe, in the ſummer of the year 1632, which produced only the ſum of one pound and five ſhillings, after deducting from the total receipt in each inſtance the nightly charge above mentioned. I ſhall give below the receipt taken by him on each of the ten performances; from which is appears that his clear

profit at an average on each of his nights, was £.8. 19. 4.[3] and the total nightly receipt was at an average—£.11. 4. 4.

[3] 1628. May 25, [the play not named,]—£.4. 15. 0.
" The benefitt of the winters day, being the ſecond day of an old play called *The Cuſtome of the Cuntrye*, came to £.17. 10. 0. this 22 of Nov. 1628. From the Kinges company att the Blackfryers.

1629. " The benefitt of the ſummers day from the kinges company being brought mee by Blagrave, upon the play of *The Propheteſs*, comes to, this 21 of July, 1629,—£.6. 7. 0.
" The benefitt of the winters day from the kinges company being brought mee by Blagrave, upon the play of *The Moore of Veniſe*, comes, this 22 of Nov. 1629, unto—£.9. 16. 0.

1630. [*No play this ſummer on account of the plague.*]
" Received of Mr. Taylor and Lowins, in the name of their company, for the benefitt of my winter day, upon the ſecond day of Ben Jonſon's play of *Every man in his humour*, this 18 day of February, 1630, [1630-31]—£.12. 4. 0.

1631. " Received of Mr. Shanke, in the name of the kings company, for the benefitt of their ſummer day, upon ye ſecond daye of *Richard ye Seconde*, at the Globe, this 12 of June, 1631,—£.5. 6. 6.
" Received of Mr. Blagrave, in the name of the kings company, for the benefitt of my winter day, taken upon *The Alchemiſte*, this 1 of Decemb. 1631,—£.13. 0. 0.

1632. " Received for the ſummer day of the kings company ye 6 Novemb. 1632,—£.1. 5. 0.
" Received for the winter day upon *The Wild gooſe chaſe*, ye ſame day,—£.15. 0. 0.

1633. " R. of ye kings company, for my ſummers day, by Blagrave, the 6 of June 1633, ye ſomme of £.4. 10. 0.

I likewiſe find the following entry in this book:
" Received of Mr. Benfielde, in the name of the kings company, for a gratuity for ther liberty gaind unto them of playinge, upon the ceſſation of the plague, this 10 of June, 1631,—£.3. 10. 0."
—" This (Sir Henry Herbert adds) was taken upon *Pericles* at the Globe."

In a copy of a play called *A Game at Cheſs*, 1624, which was formerly in poſſeſſion of Thomas Pearſon, Eſq. is the following memorandum in an old hand: " After nine days, wherein I have

On the 30th of October, 1633, the managers of the king's company agreed to pay him the fixed ſum of ten pounds every Chriſtmas, and the ſame ſum at Midſummer, in lieu of his two benefits, which ſums they regularly pay'd him from that time till the breaking out of the civil wars.

From the receipts on theſe benefits I am led to believe that the prices were lower at the Globe theatre, and that therefore, though it was much larger than the winter theatre at Blackfriars, it did not produce a greater ſum of money on any repreſentation. If we ſuppoſe twenty pounds, clear of the nightly charges already mentioned, to have been

heard ſome of the actors ſay they took fifteen hundred pounds, the Spaniſh faction, being prevalent, got it ſuppreſſed, and the author, Mr. Thomas Middleton, committed to priſon." According to this ſtatement, they received above 166l. 12s. on each performance. The foregoing extracts ſhew, that there is not even a ſemblance of truth in this ſtory. In the year 1685, when the London theatres were much enlarged, and the prices of admiſſion greatly increaſed, Shadwell received by his third day on the repreſentation of *The Squire of Alſatia*, only 130l. which Downes the prompter ſays was the greateſt receipt had been ever taken at Drury-lane playhouſe a ſingle prices. *Roſcius Anglicanus*, p. 41.

The uſe of Arabick figures has often occaſioned very groſs errors to paſs current in the world. I ſuppoſe the utmoſt receipt from the performance of Middleton's play for nine days, (if it was performed ſo often,) could not amount to more than one hundred and fifty pounds. To the ſum of 150l. which perhaps this old actor had ſeen as the profit made by this play, his fancy or his negligence added a cipher, and thus made fifteen hundred pounds.

The play of *Holland's Leaguer* was acted ſix days ſucceſſively at Saliſbury Court, in December 1631, and yet Sir Henry Herbert received on account of the ſix repreſentations but *one pound nineteen ſhillings*, in virtue of the *ninth* ſhare which he poſſeſſed as one of the proprietors of that houſe. Suppoſing there were twenty-one ſhares divided among the actors, the piece, though performed with ſuch extraordinary ſucceſs, did not produce more than *ſix pounds ten ſhillings* each night, excluſive of the occaſional nightly charges already mentioned.

a very conſiderable receipt at either of theſe houſes, and that this ſum was in our poet's time divided into forty ſhares, of which fifteen were appropriated to the houſekeepers or proprietors, three to the purchaſe of copies of new plays, ſtage-habits, &c. and twenty-two to the actors, then the performer who had two ſhares on the repreſentation of each play, received, when the theatre was thus ſucceſsful, twenty ſhillings. But ſuppoſing the *average* nightly receipt (after deducting the nightly expences) to be about nine pounds, which we have ſeen to be the caſe, then his nightly dividend would be but nine ſhillings, and his weekly profit, if they played five times a week, two pounds five ſhillings. The acting ſeaſon, I believe, at that time laſted forty weeks. In each of the companies then ſubſiſting there were about twenty perſons, ſix of whom probably were principal, and the others ſubordinate; ſo that we may ſuppoſe *two ſhares* to have been the reward of a principal actor; ſix of the ſecond claſs perhaps enjoyed a whole ſhare each; and each of the remaining eight half a ſhare. On all theſe *data*, I think it may be ſafely concluded, that the performers of the firſt claſs did not derive from their profeſſion more than ninety pounds a year at the utmoſt.[4] Shakſpeare, Heminge, Condell,

[4] "The verye hyerlings of ſome of our plaiers," [i. e. men occaſionally hired by the night] ſays Stephen Goſſon in the year 1579, which ſtand at reverſion of vi s. by the weeke, jet under gentlemen's noſes in ſutes of ſilke." *Schools of Abuſe*, p. 22.

Hart, the celebrated tragedian, after the Reſtoration had but three pounds a week as an *actor*, that is, about ninety pounds a year; for the acting ſeaſon did not, I believe, at that time exceed thirty weeks; but he had beſides, as a proprietor, ſix ſhillings and three-pence every day on which there was any performance at the king's theatre, which produced about £.56. 5. 0. more. Betterton even at the beginning of the preſent century had not more than five pounds a week.

Burbadge, Lowin, and Taylor had without doubt other ſhares as proprietors or leaſeholders; but what the different proportions were which each of them poſſeſſed in that right, it is now impoſſible to aſcertain. According to the ſuppoſition already ſtated, that fifteen ſhares out of forty were appropriated to the proprietors, then was there on this account a ſum of ſix hundred and ſeventy-five pounds annually to be divided among them. Our poet, as author, actor, and proprietor, probably received from the theatre about two hundred pounds a year. —Having after a very long ſearch lately diſcovered the will of Mr. Heminge, I hoped to have derived from it ſome information on this ſubject; but I was diſappointed. He indeed more than once mentions his ſeveral parts or *ſhares held by leaſe in the Globe and Blackfriars playhouſes*;[5] but uſes no expreſſion by which the value of each of thoſe ſhares can be aſcertained. His books of account, which he appears to have regularly kept, and which, he ſays, will ſhew that his ſhares yielded him "*a good yearly profit*," will probably, if they ſhall ever be found, throw much light on our early ſtage hiſtory.

Thus ſcanty and meagre were the apparatus and accommodations of our ancient theatres, on which thoſe dramas were firſt exhibited, that have ſince engaged the attention of ſo many learned men, and delighted ſo many thouſand ſpectators. Yet even then, we are told by a writer of that age,[6] "dra-

[5] See his Will in a ſubſequent page.

[6] Sir George Buc. This writer, as I have already obſerved, wrote an expreſs treatiſe concerning the Engliſh ſtage, which was never printed, and, I fear, is now irrecoverably loſt. As he was a friend of Sir Robert Cotton, I hoped to have found the Manuſcript in the Cottonian library, but was diſappointed. "Of this

matick poeſy was ſo lively expreſſed and repreſented on the publick ſtages and theatres of this city, as Rome in the *auge* of her pomp and glory, never ſaw it better performed; in reſpect of the action and art, not of the coſt and ſumptuouſneſs."

Of the actors on whom this high encomium is pronounced, the original performers in our author's plays were undoubtedly the moſt eminent. The following is the only information that I have obtained concerning them.

art," [the dramatick] ſays Sir George, "have written largely *Petrus Victorius*, &c. as it were in vaine for me to ſay any thing of the art, beſides that *I have written thereof a particular treatiſe.*" *The Third Univerſity of England*, printed originally in 1615, and re-printed at the end of Howes's edition of Stowe's *Annals*, folio, 1631, p. 1082. It is ſingular that a ſimilar work on the Roman ſtage, written by Suetonius, (*De Spectaculis et Certaminibus Romanorum*,) has alſo periſhed. Some little account of their ſcenery, and of the ſeparation of the mimes and pantomimes from comedies, in which they were originally introduced, are the only particulars of this treatiſe that have been preſerved; for which we are indebted to Servius, and Diomedes the grammarian. The latter fragment is curious, as it exhibits an early proof of that competition and jealouſy, which, from the firſt riſe of the ſtage to the preſent time, has diſturbed the peace of the theatres:

"Latinæ vero comœdiæ chorum non habent, ſed duobus tantum membris conſtant, diverbio, et cantico. Primis autem temporibus, ut aſſerit Tranquillus, omnia quæ in ſcena verſantur, in comœdia agebantur. Nam Pantomimus et Pithaules et Choraules in comœdia canebant. Sed quia non poterant omnia ſimul apud omnes artifices pariter excellere, ſi qui erant inter actores comœdiarum pro facultate et arte potiores, principatum ſibi artificii vindicabant. Sic factum eſt, ut nolentibus cedere Mimis in artificio ſuo cœteris, ſeparatio fieret reliquorum. Nam dum potiores inferioribus, qui in omni ergaſterio erant, ſervire dedignabantur, ſeipſos a comœdia ſeparaverunt: ac ſic factum eſt, ut, exemplo ſemel ſumpto, unuſquiſque artis ſuæ rem exequi cæperit, neque in comœdiam venire."

Grammaticæ linguæ Auctores Antiqui, Putſchii, p. 489. Hanov. 1605.

I have ſaid in a former page (167) that I believed Sir George Buc died ſoon after the year 1622, and I have ſince found my conjecture confirmed. He died, as I learn from one of Sir Henry Herbert's papers, on the 20th of September, 1623.

NAMES OF THE ORIGINAL ACTORS IN THE PLAYS OF SHAKSPEARE.

From the folio, 1623.

WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

Having now once more occaſion to mention our poet, I ſhall take this opportunity to correct an error into which I ſuſpect I have fallen, in a note on the Account of his Life; and to add ſuch notices as I have obtained relative either to him or his friends, ſince that Account was printed off; to which the preſent article is intended as a ſupplement.

The words in our poet's will, "Provided that if ſuch huſband as ſhe ſhall at the end of the ſaid three years be married unto," &c. ſeemed to me to afford a preſumptive proof that Shakſpeare, when he made his will, did not know of the marriage of his daughter Judith, (the perſon there ſpoken of,) which had been celebrated about a month before: a circumſtance, however, which, even when I ſtated it, appeared to me very extraordinary, and highly improbable. On further conſideration I am convinced that I was miſtaken, and that the words above-cited were intended to comprehend her then huſband, and any other to whom within three years ſhe might be married. The word *diſcharge* in the bequeſt to Judith, which had eſcaped my notice,—"One hundred pounds in diſcharge of her marriage portion,"—ſhews that he muſt have been apprized of this marriage, and that he had previouſly *covenanted* to give her that ſum.

In the tranſcript of the inſtrument by which a coat of arms was granted in 1599 to John Shak-

ſpeare, our poet's father,[7] the original has been followed with a ſcrupulous fidelity; but on peruſing the rough draughts of the former grant of arms in 1596, I am ſatisfied that there is an errror in the later grant, in which the following unintelligible paragraph is found:

" Wherefore being ſolicited, and by credible report informed, that John Shakſpeare, now of Stratford-upon-Avon in the counte of Warwick, great grandfather late gent. whoſe parent and anteceſſor for his faithefull and approved ſervice to the late moſt prudent prince, king Henry VII. of famous memorie, was advaunced with lands and tenements, geven to him in thoſe parts of Warwickſhere, where they have continewed by ſome deſcents in good reputation and credit," &c.

On reviewing this inſtrument, it appeared not very eaſy to aſcertain who the perſon here alluded to was, if only one was meant; nor is it at all probable that the *great grandfather* of John Shakſpeare ſhould have been his late or immediate predeceſſor; to ſay nothing of the word *parent*, which, unleſs it means a *relation* in general, is as unintelligible as the reſt. On examining the two rough draughts of the grant of arms to John Shakſpeare in 1596, I found that in one of theſe, (apparently the more perfect of the two,) the correſponding words run thus: " —whoſe *parents and late anteceſſors were* for their valour and faithful ſervices to the late moſt prudent prince king Henry VII." &c. In the other thus: " —whoſe *parents* [and] late anteceſſors for their faithful and valiant ſervice," &c. The word *their* is in this paper obliterated, and

[7] See *Shakſpeare's Coat of Arms*, Vol. I.

his written over it; and over *anteceſſors* the word *grandfather* is written. The draughtſman however forgot to draw a line through the word for which *grandfather* was to be ſubſtituted. He evidently was in doubt which of the two expreſſions he ſhould retain; but we may preſume he meant to reject the words "—*whoſe parents and late anteceſſors*," and to ſubſtitute inſtead of them, "—whoſe *grandfather for his*," &c.

In the grant of 1599, we have ſeen, the words originally ſtood, "—whoſe *parent and anteceſſor was*," and the words *great grandfather* and *late* are interlineations. The writer forgot to eraſe the original words, but undoubtedly he did not mean that both thoſe and the ſubſtituted words ſhould be retained, but that the paragraph ſhould ſtand thus: "—whoſe great grandfather for his faithful and approved ſervice," &c. and, inſtead of "*great grandfather*," the earlier inſtrument induces me to think that he ought to have written, "—whoſe *late* grandfather."

A minute examination of theſe inſtruments led me to inquire what grounds the heralds had for their aſſertion that our poet's anceſtor had been rewarded by a grant of lands from King Henry the Seventh. But it ſhould ſeem they were ſatisfied with very ſlight evidence of this fact; for after a very careful examination in the chapel of the Rolls,[8] from the beginning to the end of that reign, it appears, that no ſuch grant was made. If any ſuch had been made by that king, out of the

[8] I cannot omit this opportunity of acknowledging the politeneſs of Mr. Kipling of the Rolls-office, who permitted every examination which I deſired, to be made in the venerable repoſitory under his care; and, with a liberality ſeldom found in publick offices, would not accept of the accuſtomed fee, for any ſearch which tended to throw a light on the hiſtory of our great dramatick poet.

forfeited eſtates of the adherents of King Richard the Third, or otherwiſe, it muſt have paſſed the great ſeal, and would have been on record. As therefore it is not found on the rolls, we may be aſſured that no ſuch grant was made. However, from the words of the early inſtruments in the herald's office, which have been already quoted, "—for his faithful and *valiant* ſervice," &c. it is highly probable, that our poet's great grandfather diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Boſworth field on the ſide of King Henry, and that he was rewarded for his military ſervices by the bounty of that parſimonious prince, though not with a grant of lands.

Mr. Rowe in his account of our poet's father has ſaid that he had ten children. From the Regiſter of the pariſh of Stratford-upon-Avon it appears, that ten children of John Shakſpeare were baptized there between the year 1558, when the regiſter commenced, and the year 1591. If therefore they were all the children of our poet's father, Mr. Rowe's account is inaccurate; for our poet had a ſiſter named Margaret, born before the commencement of the Regiſter. It is, however, extremely improbable, that in ſo numerous a family not one of the ſons ſhould have been baptized by the chriſtian name of old Mr. Shakſpeare. I now therefore believe (though I was formerly of a different opinion) that our poet's eldeſt brother bore his father's chriſtian name, *John*; and that, like their eldeſt ſiſter, Margaret, he was born before the regiſter commenced. If this was the caſe, then without doubt the three children who were born between March 1588 and September 1591, Urſula, Humphrey, and Philip, were the iſſue of this younger John, by his ſecond wife, whoſe chriſtian name was Mary; and the real number of

the children of our poet's father was *nine*. This Mary Shakſpeare died in 1608, and is deſcribed as a widow. If therefore ſhe was the wife of John Shakſpeare the younger, then muſt he have died before that year.

About twenty years ago, one Moſely, a maſter-bricklayer, who uſually worked with his men, being employed by Mr. Thomas Hart, the fifth deſcendant in a direct line from our poet's ſiſter, Joan Hart, to new-tile the old houſe at Stratford, in which Mr. Hart lives, and in which our poet was born, found a very extraordinary manuſcript between the rafters and the tiling of the houſe. It is a ſmall paper-book conſiſting of five leaves ſtitched together. It had originally conſiſted of ſix leaves, but unluckily the firſt was wanting when the book was found. I have taken ſome pains to aſcertain the authenticity of this manuſcript, and after a very careful inquiry am perfectly ſatisfied that it is genuine.

The writer, John Shakſpeare, calls it his *Will*; but it is rather a declaration of his faith and pious reſolutions. Whether it contains the religious ſentiments of our poet's father or elder brother, I am unable to determine. The handwriting is undoubtedly not ſo ancient as that *uſually* written about the year 1600; but I have now before me a manuſcript written by Alleyn the player at various times between 1599 and 1614, and another by Forde, the dramatick poet, in 1606, in nearly the ſame handwriting as that of the manuſcript in queſtion. The Rev. Mr. Davenport, Vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon, at my requeſt endeavoured to find out Mr. Moſely, to examine more particularly concerning this manuſcript; but he died about two years ago. His daughter, however, who is now living, and Mr. Hart, who is alſo living, and now ſixty years old, perfectly well re-

nember the finding of this paper. Moſely ſome ime after he found it, gave it to Mr. Peyton, an lderman of Stratford, who obligingly tranſmitted t to me through the hands of Mr. Davenport. It s proper to obſerve that the finder of this relique bore the character of a very honeſt, ſober, induſtrious man, and that he neither aſked nor received ny price for it; and I may alſo add that its contents are ſuch as no one could have thought of inventing with a view to literary impoſition.

If the injunction contained in the latter part of it (that it ſhould be buried with the writer) was obſerved, then muſt the paper which has thus fortuitouſly been recovered, have been a copy, made from the original, previous to the burial of John Shakſpeare.

This extraordinary will conſiſted originally of fourteen articles, but the firſt leaf being unluckily wanting, I am unable to aſcertain either its date or the particular occaſion on which it was written; both of which probably the firſt article would have furniſhed us with. If it was written by our poet's father, John Shakſpeare, then it was probably drawn up about the year 1600; if by his brother, it perhaps was dated ſome time between that year and 1608, when the younger John ſhould ſeem to have been dead.

[Since the ſheet which contains the will of John Shakſpeare was printed, I have learned that it was originally perfect, when found by Joſeph Moſely, though the firſt leaf has ſince been loſt.[9] Moſely tranſcribed a large portion of it, and from his copy I have been furniſhed with the introductory articles, from the want of which I was obliged to

[9] The loſt articles, &c. (here incloſed in crotchets) are ſupplied from Mr. Malone's *Emendations and Additions* in his Vol. I. Part II. p. 330,—31.

print this will in an imperfect ſtate. They are as follows:

I.

" In the name of God, the father, ſonne, and holy ghoſt, the moſt holy and bleſſed Virgin Mary, mother of God, the holy hoſt of archangels, angels, patriarchs, prophets, evangeliſts, apoſtles, ſaints, martyrs, and all the celeſtial court and company of heaven, I John Shakſpear, an unworthy member of the holy Catholick religion, being at this my preſent writing in perfect health of body, and ſound mind, memory, and underſtanding, but calling to mind the uncertainty of life and certainty of death, and that I may be poſſibly cut off in the bloſſome of my ſins, and called to render an account of all my tranſgreſſions externally and internally, and that I may be unprepared for the dreadful trial either by ſacrament, pennance, faſting, or prayer, or any other purgation whatever, do in the holy preſence above ſpecified, of my own free and voluntary accord, make and ordaine this my laſt ſpiritual will, teſtament, confeſſion, proteſtation, and confeſſion of faith, hopinge hereby to receive pardon for all my ſinnes and offences, and thereby to be made partaker of life everlaſting, through the only merits of Jeſus Chriſt my ſaviour and redeemer, who took upon himſelf the likeneſs of man, ſuffered death, and was crucified upon the croſſe, for the redemption of ſinners.

II.

" *Item.* I John Shakſpear doe by this preſent proteſt, acknowledge, and confeſs, that in my paſt life I have been a moſt abominable and grievous ſinner, and therefore unworthy to be forgiven without a true and ſincere repentance for the ſame. But truſting in the manifold mercies of my bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer, I am encouraged by relying

on his ſacred word, to hope for ſalvation and be made partaker of his heavenly kingdom, as a member of the celeſtial company of angels, ſaints and martyrs, there to reſide for ever and ever in the court of my God.

III.

" *Item*, I John Shakſpear doe by this preſent proteſt and declare, that as I am certain I muſt paſſe out of this tranſitory life into another that will laſt to eternity, I do hereby moſt humbly implore and intreat my good and guardian angell to inſtruct me in this my ſolemn preparation, proteſtation, and confeſſion of faith,] at leaſt ſpiritually, in will adoring and moſt humbly beſeeching my ſaviour, that he will be pleaſed to aſſiſt me in ſo dangerous a voyage, to defend me from the ſnares and deceites of my infernall enemies, and to conduct me to the ſecure haven of his eternall bliſſe.

IV.

" *Item*, I John Shakſpear doe proteſt that I will alſo paſſe out of this life, armed with the laſt ſacrament of extreme unction: the which if through any let or hindrance I ſhould not then be able to have, I doe now alſo for that time demand and crave the ſame; beſeeching his divine majeſty that he will be pleaſed to anoynt my ſenſes both internall and externall with the ſacred oyle of his infinite mercy, and to pardon me all my ſins committed by ſeeing, ſpeaking, feeling, ſmelling, hearing, touching, or by any other way whatſoever.

V.

" *Item*, I John Shakſpear doe by this preſent proteſt that I will never through any temptation whatſoever deſpaire of the divine goodneſs, for the multitude and greatneſs of my ſinnes; for which although I confeſſe that I have deſerved hell, yet will I ſtedfaſtly hope in gods infinite mercy, know-

ing that he hath heretofore pardoned many as great ſinners as my ſelf, whereof I have good warrant ſealed with his ſacred mouth, in holy writ, whereby he pronounceth that he is not come to call the juſt, but ſinners.

VI.

" *Item*, I John Shakſpear do proteſt that I do not know that I have ever done any good worke meritorious of life everlaſting: and if I have done any, I do acknowledge that I have done it with a great deale of negligence and imperfection; neither ſhould I have been able to have done the leaſt without the aſſiſtance of his divine grace. Wherefore let the devill remain confounded; for I doe in no wiſe preſume to merit heaven by ſuch good workes alone, but through the merits and bloud of my lord and ſaviour, jeſus, ſhed upon the croſe for me moſt miſerable ſinner.

VII.

" *Item*, I John Shakſpear do proteſt by this preſent writing, that I will patiently endure and ſuffer all kind of infirmity, ſickneſs, yea and the paine of death it ſelf: wherein if it ſhould happen, which god forbid, that through violence of paine and agony, or by ſubtilty of the devill, I ſhould fall into any impatience or temptation of blaſphemy, or murmuration againſt god, or the catholike faith, or give any ſigne of bad example, I do henceforth, and for that preſent, repent me, and am moſt heartily ſorry for the ſame: and I do renounce all the evill whatſoever, which I might have then done or ſaid; beſeeching his divine clemency that he will not forſake me in that grievous and paigneſull agony.

VIII.

" *Item*, I John Shakſpear, by virtue of this preſent teſtament, I do pardon all the injuries and

offences that any one hath ever done unto me, either in my reputation, life, goods, or any other way whatſoever; beſeeching ſweet jeſus to pardon them for the ſame: and I do deſire, that they will doe the like by me, whome I have offended or injured in any ſort howſoever.

IX.

" *Item*, I John Shakſpear do heere proteſt that I do render infinite thanks to his divine majeſty for all the benefits that I have received as well ſecret as manifeſt, & in particular for the benefit of my Creation, Redemption, Sanctification, Conſervation, and Vocation to the holy knowledge of him & his true Catholike faith: but above all, for his ſo great expectation of me to pennance, when he might moſt juſtly have taken me out of this life, when I leaſt thought of it, yea, even then, when I was plunged in the durty puddle of my ſinnes. Bleſſed be therefore and praiſed, for ever and ever, his infinite patience and charity.

X.

" *Item*, I John Shakſpear do proteſt, that I am willing, yea, I do infinitely deſire and humbly crave, that of this my laſt will and teſtament the glorious and ever Virgin mary, mother of god, refuge and advocate of ſinners, (whom I honour ſpecially above all other ſaints,) may be the chiefe Executreſſe, togeather with theſe other ſaints, my patrons, (ſaint Winefride) all whome I invocke and beſeech to be preſent at the hour of my death, that ſhe and they may comfort me with their deſired preſence, and crave of ſweet Jeſus that he will receive my ſoul into peace.

XI.

" *Item*, In virtue of this preſent writing, I John Shakſpear do likewiſe moſt willingly and with all humility conſtitute and ordaine my good Angel, for

Defender and Protectour of my ſoul in the dread-full day of Judgement, when the finall ſentance of eternall life or death ſhall be diſcuſſed and given; beſeeching him, that, as my ſoule was appointed to his cuſtody and protection when I lived, even ſo he will vouchſafe to defend the ſame at that houre, and conduct it to eternall bliſs.

XII.

" *Item*, I John Shakſpear do in like manner pray and beſeech all my dear friends, parents, and kinſfolks, by the bowels of our Saviour jeſus Chriſt, that ſince it is uncertain what lot will befall me, for fear notwithſtanding leaſt by reaſon of my ſinnes I be to paſs and ſtay a long while in purgatory, they will vouchſafe to aſſiſt and ſuccour me with their holy prayers and ſatisfactory workes, eſpecially with the holy ſacrifice of the maſſe, as being the moſt effectuall meanes to deliver ſoules from their torments and paines; from the which, if I ſhall by gods gracious goodneſſe and by their vertuous workes be delivered, I do promiſe that I will not be ungratefull unto them, for ſo great a benefitt.

XIII.

" *Item*, I John Shakſpear doe by this my laſt will and teſtament bequeath my ſoul, as ſoon as it ſhall be delivered and looſened from the priſon of this my body, to be entombed in the ſweet and amorous coffin of the ſide of jeſus Chriſt; and that in this life-giveing ſepulcher it may reſt and live, perpetually incloſed in that eternall habitation of repoſe, there to bleſſe for ever and ever that direfull iron of the launce, which, like a charge in a cenſore, formes ſo ſweet and pleaſant a monument within the ſacred breaſt of my lord and ſaviour.

XIV.

" *Item*, laſtly I John Shakſpear doe proteſt, that

I will willingly accept of death in what manner ſoever it may befall me, conforming my will unto the will of god; accepting of the ſame in ſatisfaction for my ſinnes, and giveing thanks unto his divine majeſty for the life he hath beſtowed upon me. And if it pleaſe him to prolong or ſhorten the ſame, bleſſed be he alſo a thouſand thouſand times; into whoſe moſt holy hands I commend my ſoul and body, my life and death: and I beſeech him above all things, that he never permit any change to be made by me John Shakſpear of this my aforeſaid will and teſtament. Amen.

" I John Shakſpear have made this preſent writing of proteſtation, confeſſion, and charter, in preſence of the bleſſed virgin mary, my Angell guardian, and all the Celeſtiall Court, as witneſſes hereunto: the which my meaning is, that it be of full value now preſently and for ever, with the force and vertue of teſtament, codicill, and donation in cauſe of death; confirming it anew, being in perfect health of ſoul and body, and ſigned with mine own hand; carrying alſo the ſame about me; and for the better declaration hereof, my will and intention is that it be finally buried with me after my death.

" Pater noſter, Ave maria, Credo.
" jeſu, ſon of David, have mercy on me.
Amen."

Since my remarks on the epitaph ſaid to have been made by Shakſpeare on John o'Comb, were printed, it occurred to me, that the manuſcript papers of Mr. Aubrey, preſerved in the Aſhmolean Muſeum at Oxford, might throw ſome light on that ſubject. Mr. Aubrey was born in the year 1625,

or 1626; and in 1642 was entered a gentleman commoner of Trinity college in Oxford. Four years afterwards he was admitted a member of the Inner Temple, and in 1662 elected a member of the Royal Society. He died about the year 1700. It is acknowledged, that his literary attainments were conſiderable; that he was a man of good parts, of much learning and great application; a good Latin poet, an excellent naturaliſt, and, what is more material to our preſent object, a great lover of and indefatigable ſearcher into antiquities. That the greater part of his life was devoted to literary purſuits, is aſcertained by the works which he has publiſhed, the correſpondence which he held with many eminent men, and the collections which he left in manuſcript, and which are now repoſited in the Aſhmolean Muſeum. Among theſe collections is a curious account of our Engliſh poets and many other writers. While Wood was preparing his *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, this manuſcript was lent to him, as appears from many queries in his handwriting in the margin; and his account of Milton, with whom Aubrey was intimately acquainted, is (as has been obſerved by Mr. Warton) literally tranſcribed from thence. Wood afterwards quarreled with Mr. Aubrey, whom in the ſecond volume of his *Faſti*, p. 262, he calls his *friend*, and on whom in his Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Oxford he beſtows the higheſt encomium;[9] and, after their quarrel, with his uſual warmth, and in

9 "Tranſmiſſum autem nobis eſt illud epitaphium a viro perhumano, Johanne Alberico, vulgo Aubrey, Armigero, hujus collegii olim generoſo commenſali, jam vero é Regia Societate, Londini; viro inquam, tam bono, tam benigno, ut publico ſolum commodo, nec ſibi omnino, natus eſſe videatur." *Hiſt. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 297.

his looſe diction, he repreſented Aubrey as "a *pretender* to antiquities, roving, magottie-headed, and little better than craſed." To Wood every lover of antiquity and literary hiſtory has very high obligations; and in all matters of fact he may be ſafely relied on; but his opinion of men and things is of little value. According to his repreſentation, Dr. Ralph Bathurſt, a man highly eſteemed by all his contemporaries, was "a moſt vile perſon," and the celebrated John Locke, "a prating, clamorous, turbulent fellow." The virtuous and learned Dr. John Wallis, if we are to believe Wood, was a man who could "at any time make black white, and white black, for his own ends, and who had a ready knack at ſophiſtical evaſion."[2] How little his judgment of his contemporaries is to be truſted, is alſo evinced by his account of the ingenious Dr. South, whom, being offended by one of his witticiſms, he has groſsly reviled.[3] Whatever Wood in a peeviſh humour may have thought or ſaid of Mr. Aubrey, by whoſe labours he highly profited, or however fantaſtical Aubrey may have been on the ſubject of chemiſtry and ghoſts, his character for veracity has never been impeached; and as a very diligent antiquarian, his teſtimony is

[2] Letter from Wood to Aubrey, dated Jan. 16, 1689-90. MSS. Aubrey. No. 15, in Muſ. Aſhmol. Oxon.—Yet in the preface to his *Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Oxford*, he deſcribes Dr. Wallis as a man—"*eruditione pariter et humanitate præſtans.*"

[3] "Wood's account of South (ſays Mr. Warton) is full of malicious reflections and abuſive ſtories: the occaſion of which was this. Wood, on a viſit to Dr. South, was complaining of a very painful and dangerous ſuppreſſion of urine; upon which South in his witty manner, told him, that, 'if he could not *make water*, he muſt *make* earth.' Wood was ſo provoked at this unſeaſonable and unexpected jeſt, that he went home in a paſſion, and *wrote* South's *Life*." Life of Ralph Bathurſt, p. 184. Compare Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* II. 1041.

worthy of attention. Mr. Toland, who was well acquainted with him, and certainly a better judge of men than Wood, gives this character of him: "Though he was extremely ſuperſtitious, or ſeemed to be ſo, yet HE WAS A VERY HONEST MAN, AND MOST ACCURATE IN HIS ACCOUNT OF MATTERS OF FACT. But the facts he knew, not the reflections he made, were what I wanted."[4] I do not wiſh to maintain that all his accounts of our Engliſh writers are on theſe grounds to be implicitly adopted; but it ſeems to me much more reaſonable to queſtion ſuch parts of them as ſeem objectionable, than to reject them altogether, becauſe he may ſometimes have been miſtaken.

He was acquainted with many of the players, and lived in great intimacy with the poets and other celebrated writers of the laſt age; from whom undoubtedly many of his anecdotes were collected. Among his friends and acquaintances we find Hobbes, Milton, Dryden, Ray, Evelyn,[5] Aſhmole, Sir William Dugdale, Dr. Bathurſt, Biſhop Skinner, Dr. Gale, Sir John Denham, Sir Bennet Hoſkyns, (ſon of John Hoſkyns, who was well acquainted with the poets of Shakſpeare's time,) Mr. Joſiah Howe, Toland, and many more.[6] The anecdotes

[4] Specimen of a critical hiſtory of the Celtick religion, &c. p. 122.

[5] "With incredible ſatisfaction I have peruſed your Natural Hiſtory of the county of Surrey, and greatly admire both your induſtry in undertaking ſo profitable a work, and *your judgment in the ſeveral obſervations you have made.*" Letter from John Evelyn, Eſq. to Mr. Aubrey, prefixed to his *Antiquities of Surrey.*

[6] Hobbes, whoſe life Aubrey wrote, was born in 1588, Milton in 1608, Dryden in 1630, Ray in 1628, Evelyn in 1621, Aſhmole in 1616, Sir W. Dugdale in 1606, Dr. Bathurſt in 1620, Biſhop Skinner in 1591, Dr. Gale about 1630, Sir John Denham in 1615, Sir Bennet Hoſkyns (the ſon of John Hoſkyns, Ben Jonſon's poetical father, who was born in 1566,) about 1600, and Mr. Joſ. Howe in 1611.

concerning D'Avenant in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, which have been printed in a former page,[7] were, like the copious and accurate account of Milton, tranſcribed literally from Aubrey's papers. What has been there ſuggeſted, (that D'Avenant was Shakſpeare's ſon) is confirmed by a ſubſequent paſſage in the MS. which has been imperfectly obliterated, and which Wood did not print, though in one of his own unpubliſhed manuſcripts now in the Bodleian library he has himſelf told the ſame ſtory. The line which is imperfectly obliterated in a different ink, and therefore probably by another hand than that of Aubrey, tells us, (as Mr. Warton who has been able to trace the words through the obliteration, informs me,) that D'Avenant was Shakſpeare's ſon by the hoſteſs of the Crown inn. The remainder of the context confirms this; for it ſays, that "D'Avenant was proud of being thought ſo, and had often (in his cups) owned the report to be true, to Butler the poet."—From Dr. Bathurſt, Sir Bennet Hoſkyns, Lacy the player, and others, Aubrey got ſome anecdotes of Ben Jonſon, which, as this part of the manuſcript has not been publiſhed, I ſhall give below;[8] and from

[7] Vol. I. [among Mr. Malone's *Additional Anecdotes of Shakſpeare.*]

[8] The article relative to this poet immediately precedes that of Shakſpeare, and is as follows:

MR. BENJAMIN JOHNSON, Poet-Laureat.

"I remember when I was a ſcholar at Trin. Coll. Oxon. 1646, I heard Mr. Ralph Bathurſt [now Dean of Welles] ſay, that Ben: Johnſon was a Warwyckſhire man. 'Tis agreed, that his father was a miniſter; and by his Epiſtle ĐĐ of *Every Man* ——— to Mr. W. Camden, that he was a Weſtminſter ſcholar, and that Mr. W. Camden was his ſchoolmaſter. His mother, after his father's death, married a bricklayer, and 'tis g'rally ſayd that he wrought ſome time with his father-in-lawe, & p'ticularly on the garden wall of Lincolns inne next to Chancery lane; & that a knight, a bencher,

Dryden and Mr. William Beeſton, (ſon of Chriſtopher Beeſton, Shakſpeare's fellow-comedian, who

walking thro, and hearing him repeat ſome Greeke verſes out of Homer, diſcourſing with him & finding him to have a witt extraordinary, gave him ſome exhibition to maintain him at Trinity College in Cambridge, where he was———: then he went into the Lowe countreys, and ſpent ſome time, not very long, in the armie; not to the diſgrace of [it], as you may find in his Epigrames. Then he came into England, & acted & wrote at the Greene Curtaine, but both ill; a kind of Nurſery or obſcure playhouſe ſomewhere in the ſuburbs (I think towards Shoreditch or Clarkenwell). Then he undertooke againe to write a play, & did hitt it admirably well, viz. *Every Man*——— which was his firſt good one. Sergeant Jo. Hoſkins of Hereford ſhire was his *Father*. I remember his ſonne (Sir Bennet Hoſkins, Baronet, who was ſomething poetical in his youth) told me, that when he defired to be adopted his ſonne, No, ſayd he, 'tis honour enough for me to be your brother: I am your father's ſonne: 'twas he that poliſhed me: I doe acknowledge it. He was [or rather had been] of a clear and faire ſkin. His habit was very plain. I have heard Mr. Lacy the player ſay, that he was wont to weare a coate like a coachman's coate, with ſlitts under the arm-pitts. He would many times exceede in drinke: Canarie was his beloved liquour: then he would tumble home to bed; & when he had thoroughly perſpired, then to ſtudie. I have ſeen his ſtudyeing chaire, which was of ſtrawe, ſuch as old women uſed; & as Aulus Gellius is drawn in. When I was in Oxon: Biſhop Skinner [Bp of Oxford] who lay at our coll: was wont to ſay, that he underſtood an author as well as any man in England. He mentions in his Epigrames, a ſonne that he had, and his epitaph. Long ſince in King James time, I have heard my uncle Davers [Danvers] ſay, who knew him, that he lived without temple barre at a combe-maker's ſhop about the Eleph.ᵗ Caſtle. In his later time he lived in Weſtminſter, in the houſe under whiche you paſſe, as you goe out of the church-yard into the old palace; where he dyed. He lyes buried in the north aiſle, the path ſquare of ſtones, the reſt is lozenge, oppoſite to the ſcutcheon of Robertus de Ros, with this inſcription only on him, in a pavement ſquare of blew marble, 14 inches ſquare, O RARE BEN: IONSON: which was donne at the charge of Jack Young, afterwards knighted, who walking there when the grave was covering, gave the fellow eighteen pence to cutt it."

It is obſervable that none of the biographers of the laſt age, but Aubrey, appear to have known that Jonſon went to the Low Countries, in his younger years; a fact which is confirmed by the con-

was a long time manager of the Cockpit playhouſe in Drury-lane,) ſome particulars concerning Spenſer. I mention theſe circumſtances only to ſhew that Aubrey was a curious and diligent inquirer, at a time when ſuch inquiries were likely to be attended with ſucceſs.

verſation that paſſed between Old Ben and Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, which was not publiſhed till eleven years after Mr. Aubrey's death. A long account of Serjeant John Hoſkyns, and Skinner, biſhop of Oxford, may be found in Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* I. 614—II. 1156.

Not knowing that this poet had a ſon who arrived at man's eſtate, I had no doubt that the reverſionary grant of the office of Maſter of the Revels, which I found in the chapel of the Rolls, was made to old Ben; [See Mr. Malone's *Shakſpeare, Ford, and Jonſon*, Vol. I.] but I am now convinced that I was miſtaken, and that this grant was made either to his ſon, Benjamin Jonſon the younger, who was alſo a poet, though he has not been noticed by any of our biographical writers, or to ſome other perſon of the ſame name. A paper which has lately fallen into my hands, pointed out my miſtake. It appears that Sir Henry Herbert ſoon after the Reſtoration brought an action on the caſe againſt Mr. Betterton, for the injury Sir Henry ſuffered by the performance of plays without the accuſtomed fees being paid to the Maſter of the Revels. On the trial it was neceſſary for him to eſtabliſh his title to that office; and as the grant made to him was not to take effect till after either the death, reſignation, forfeiture, or ſurrender of Benjamin Jonſon and Sir John Aſtley, it became neceſſary to ſhew that thoſe two perſons were dead: and accordingly it was proved on the trial that the ſaid Benjamin Jonſon died, Nov. 20, 1635. The poet-laureat died, Auguſt 16, 1637. The younger Jonſon was a dramatick author, having in conjunction with Brome, produced a play called *A Fault in Friendſhip*, which was acted at the Curtain by the Prince's company in October, 1639; and in 1672 a collection of his poems was publiſhed. To this volume are prefixed verſes addreſſed "to all the ancient family of the *Lucyes*," in which the writer deſcribes himſelf as "a little ſtream from that clear ſpring:" a circumſtance which adds ſupport to Dr. Bathurſt's account of his father's birth-place. It ſhould ſeem that he was not on good terms with his father. "He was not very happy in his children, (ſays Fuller in his account of Ben Jonſon,) "and *moſt happy in thoſe which died firſt*, though none lived to ſurvive him."

Dr. Farmer in his admirable *Eſſay on the Learning of Shakſpeare*, by which, as Dr. Johnſon juſtly obſerved, "the queſtion is for ever decided," has given an extract from Mr. Aubrey's account of our poet, and the part which he has quoted has been printed in a former page:[9] but as the manuſcript memoir is more copious, and the account given by Aubrey of our poet's verſes on John o'Combe, (which has never been publiſhed) is materially different from that tranſmitted by Mr. Rowe, I ſhall give an exact tranſcript of the whole article relative to Shakſpeare, from the original.

MS. Aubrey. Mus. Ashmol. Oxon. *Lives*, P. I. fol. 78. a. [Inter Cod. Dugdal.]

Mr. William Shakespeare.

"William Shakeſpeare's father was a butcher, and I have been told heretofore by ſome of the neighbours, that when he was a boy, he exerciſed his father's trade; but when he killed a calfe, he would do it in a *high ſtyle*, and make a ſpeech. This William, being inclined naturally to poetry and acting, came to London, I gueſſe about 18, and was an actor at one of the playhouſes, and did act exceedingly well. Now Ben Jonſon was never a good actor, but an excellent inſtructor. He began early to make eſſays in dramatique poetry, which at that time was very lowe, and his plays took well. He was a handſome well ſhaped man; verie good company, and of a very ready, and pleaſant, and ſmooth witt. The humour of the conſtable in

[9] Vol. II. p. 66. Dr. Farmer ſuppoſed that Aubrey's anecdotes of Shakſpeare came originally from Mr. Beeſton, but this is a miſtake. Mr. Beeſton is quoted by Aubrey only for ſome particulars relative to Spenſer.

A Midſommer-night Dreame he happened to take it Crendon in Bucks, (I think it was Midſommer-night that he happened to be there;) which is the road from London to Stratford; and there was living that conſtable about 1642, when I came firſt to Oxon. Mr. Joſ. Howe is of the pariſh, and knew him. Ben Jonſon and he did gather humours of men wherever they came. One time as he was at the taverne at Stratford, Mr. Combes, an old uſurer, was to be buryed; he makes then this extemporary epitaph upon him:

'Ten in the hundred the Devill allowes,
'But Combes will have twelve, he ſweares and he vowes:
'If any one aſke who lies in this tomb,
'Hoh! quoth the Devill, 'tis my John o'Comb.'

"He was wont to go to his native country once a yeare, I think I have been told that he left near 300l. to a ſiſter. He underſtood latin pretty well; for he had been in his younger yeares a ſcoolmaſter in the country."

Let us now proceed to examine the ſeveral parts of this account.

The firſt aſſertion, that our poet's father was a butcher, has been thought unworthy of credit, becauſe "not only contrary to all other tradition, but, as it may ſeem, to the inſtrument in the herald's-office," which may be found in a former page.* But for my own part, I think, this aſſertion, (which it ſhould be obſerved is poſitively affirmed on the information of his neighbours, procured probably at an early period,) and the received account of his having been a wool-ſtapler, by no means inconſiſtent. Dr. Farmer has illuſtrated a paſſage in *Hamlet* from information derived from a perſon who was at once a wool-man and butcher;

* Vol. I.

and, I believe, few occupations can be named, which are more naturally connected with each other. Mr. Rowe firſt mentioned the tradition that our poet's father was a dealer in wool, and his account is corroborated by a circumſtance which I have juſt now learned. In one of the windows of a building in Stratford which belonged to the Shakſpeare family, are the arms of the merchants of the ſtaple;—*Nebule, on a chief gules, a lion paſſant, or*; and the ſame arms, I am told, may be obſerved in the church at Stratford, in the fret-work over the arch which covers the tomb of John de Clopton, who was a merchant of the ſtaple, and father of Sir Hugh Clopton, lord-mayor of London, by whom the bridge over the Avon was built. But it ſhould ſeem from the records of Stratford that John Shakſpeare, about the year 1579, at which time our poet was fifteen years old, was by no means in affluent circumſtances;[2] and why may we not ſuppoſe that at that period he endeavoured to ſupport his numerous family by adding the trade of a butcher to that of his principal buſineſs; though at a ſubſequent period he was enabled, perhaps by his ſon's bounty, to diſcontinue the leſs reſpectable of theſe occupations? I do not, however, think it at all probable, that a perſon who had been once bailiff of Stratford ſhould have ſuffered any of his children to have been employed in the ſervile office of killing calves.

Mr. Aubrey proceeds to tell us, that William Shakſpeare came to London and began his theatrical career, according to his conjecture, when he was about eighteen years old;—but as his merit as an actor is the principal object of our preſent diſqui-

[2] See Vol. I. p. 2, n. 3.

ſition, I ſhall poſtpone my obſervations on this paragraph, till the remaining part of theſe anecdotes has been conſidered.

We are next told, that "he began early to make eſſays in dramatique poetry, which at that time was very lowe, and his playes took well."

On theſe points, I imagine, there cannot be much variety of opinion. Mr. Aubrey was undoubtedly miſtaken in his conjecture, (for he gives it only as conjecture,) that our poet came to London at eighteen; for as he had three children born at Stratford in 1583 and 1584, it is very improbable that he ſhould have left his native town before the latter year. I think it moſt probable that he did not come to London before the year 1586, when he was twenty-two years old. When he produced his firſt play, has not been aſcertained; but if Spenſer alludes to him in his *Tears of the Muſes*, Shakſpeare muſt have exhibited ſome piece in or before 1590, at which time he was twenty-ſix years old; and though many have written for the publick before they had attained that time of life, any theatrical performance produced at that age, would, I think, ſufficiently juſtify Mr. Aubrey in ſaying that he began *early* to make eſſays in dramatick poetry. In a word, we have no *proof* that he did *not* woo the dramatick Muſe, even ſo early as in the year 1587 or 1588; in the firſt of which years he was but twenty-three: and therefore till ſuch proof ſhall be produced, Mr. Aubrey's aſſertion, founded apparently on the information of thoſe who lived very near the time, is entitled to ſome weight.

"He was a handſome well-ſhaped man, verie good company, and of a very ready, and pleaſant, and ſmooth witt."

I ſuppoſe none of my readers will find any difficulty in giving full credit to this part of the account. Mr. Aubrey, I believe, is the only writer, who has particularly mentioned the beauty of our poet's perſon; and there being no contradictory teſtimony on the ſubject, he may here be ſafely relied on. All his contemporaries who have ſpoken of him, concur in celebrating the gentleneſs of his manners, and the readineſs of his wit. "As he was a happy imitator of nature, (ſay his fellow comedians,) ſo was he a moſt gentle expreſſer of it. His mind and hand went together; and what he thought he uttered with that eaſineſs, that we have ſcarce received from him a blot in his papers." "My *gentle* Shakſpeare," is the compellation uſed to him by Ben Jonſon. "He was indeed (ſays his old antagoniſt) *honeſt, and of an open and free nature*; had an excellent fancy, brave notions, and gentle expreſſions; wherein he flowed with that facility, that ſometimes it was neceſſary he ſhould be ſtopped. *Sufflaminandus erat*, as Auguſtus ſaid of Haterius." So alſo in his verſes on our poet:

"—— Look how the father's face
"Lives in his iſſue, even ſo the race
"Of Shakſpeare's *mind and manners* brightly ſhines
"In his *well-turned* and *true-filed* lines."

In like manner he is repreſented by Spenſer (if in *The Tears of the Muſes* he is alluded to, which, it muſt be acknowledged, is extremely probable,) under the endearing deſcription of "our *pleaſant* Willy," and "that ſame *gentle ſpirit*, from whoſe pen flow copious ſtreams of honey and nectar." In a ſubſequent page I ſhall have occaſion to quote another of his contemporaries, who is equally laviſh in praiſing the uprightneſs of his conduct and the

gentleneſs and civility of his demeanour. And conformable to all theſe ancient teſtimonies is that of Mr. Rowe, who informs us, from the traditional accounts received from his native town, that our poet's "pleaſurable wit and good-nature engaged him in the acquaintance and entitled him to the friendſhip of the gentlemen of his neighbourhood at Stratford."

A man, whoſe manners were thus engaging, whoſe wit was thus ready, and whoſe mind was ſtored with ſuch a plenitude of ideas and ſuch a copious aſſemblage of images as his writings exhibit, could not but have been what he is repreſented by Mr. Aubrey, a delightful companion.

"The humour of the conſtable in *A Midſommer-night-Dreame* he happened to take at Crendon in Bucks, (I think it was Midſomer-night that he happened to be there:) which is the road from London to Stratford; and there was living that conſtable about 1642, when I came firſt to Oxon. Mr. Joſ. Howe is of the pariſh, and knew him."

It muſt be acknowledged that there is here a ſlight miſtake, there being no ſuch character as a conſtable in *A Midſummer-Night's Dream*. The perſon in contemplation undoubtedly was DOGBERRY in *Much Ado about Nothing*. But this miſtake of a name does not, in my apprehenſion, detract in the ſmalleſt degree from the credit of the fact itſelf; namely, that our poet in his admirable character of a fooliſh conſtable had in view an individual who lived in Crendon or Grendon, (for it is written both ways,) a town in Buckinghamſhire, about thirteen miles from Oxford. Leonard Digges, who was Shakſpeare's contemporary, has fallen into a ſimilar errour; for in his eulogy on our poet, he has ſuppoſed the character of MALVOLIO,

which is found in *Twelfth Night*, to be in *Much Ado about Nothing*.[3]

As ſome account of the perſon from whom Mr. Aubrey derived this anecdote, who was of the ſame college with him at Oxford, may tend to eſtabliſh its credit, I ſhall tranſcribe from Mr. Warton's preface to his *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, ſuch notices of Mr. Joſias Howe, as he has been able to recover.

" He was born at Crendon in Bucks, [about the year 1611] and elected a ſcholar of Trinity College June 12, 1632; admitted a fellow, being then bachelor of arts, May 26, 1637. By Hearne he is called a great cavalier and loyaliſt, and a moſt ingenious man.[4] He appears to have been a general and accompliſhed ſcholar, and in polite literature one of the ornaments of the univerſity.—In 1644 he preached before King Charles the Firſt, at Chriſt Church cathedral, Oxford. The ſermon was printed, and in red letters, by his majeſty's ſpecial command.—Soon after 1646, he was ejected from his fellowſhip by the preſbyterians; and reſtored in 1660. He lived forty-two years, greatly reſpected, after his reſtitution, and arriving at the age of ninety, died fellow of the college where he conſtantly reſided, Auguſt 28, 1701." Mr. Thomas Howe, the father of this Mr. Joſias Howe, (as I learn from Wood) was miniſter of Crendon, and contemporary with Shakſpeare; and from him his ſon perhaps derived ſome information concerning our poet, which he might have communicated to his fellow-collegian, Aubrey. The anecdote relative to the conſtable of Crendon, however, does not

[3] See *Ancient and Modern Commendatory Verſes*, at the end of Vol. II.

[4] Rob. Glouc. Gloss. p. 669.

ſtand on this ground, for we find that Mr. Joſias Howe perſonally knew him, and that he was living in 1642.

I now proceed to the remaining part of theſe anecdotes:

"Ben Jonſon and he did gather humours of men wherever they came. One time as he was at the taverne at Stratford, Mr. Combes,[5] an old uſurer, was to be buried;[6] he makes then this extemporary epitaph upon him:

'Ten in the hundred the devill allowes,
'But Combes will have twelve, he ſwears and he vowes:
'If any one aſke,[7] who lies in this tomb,
'Hoh! quoth the devill, 'tis my John o'Combe."

In a former page I have proved, if I miſtake not, from an examination of Mr. Combe's will, and other circumſtances, that no credit is due to Mr. Rowe's account of our poet's having ſo incenſed him by an epitaph which he made on him in his pre-

[5] This cuſtom of adding an s to many names, both in ſpeaking and writing, was very common in the laſt age. Shakeſpeare's fellow-comedian, *John Heminge*, was always called Mr. *Hemings* by his contemporaries, and Lord Clarendon conſtantly writes Biſhop *Earles*, inſtead of Biſhop *Earle*.

"S (ſays Camden in his *Remaines*, 4to. 1605,) alſo is joyned to moſt [names] now, as Manors, Knoles, Crofts, Hilles, *Combes*," &c.

[6] Mr. Combe was buried at Stratford, July 12, 1614. The entry in the Regiſter of that pariſh confirms the obſervation made above; for, though written by a clergyman, it ſtands thus: "July 12, 1614. Mr. John *Combes*, Gener."

[7] This appears to have been in our poet's time a common form in writing epitaphs. In one which he wrote on Sir Thomas Stanley, which has been given in Vol. I. p. 33, we again meet with it:

"*Aſk, who lies here*," &c.

Again, in Ben Jonſon's epitaph on his ſon:

"Reſt in ſoft peace, and *aſk'd*, ſay, *here doth lie*
"Ben Jonſon his beſt piece of poetry."

ſence, at a tavern in Stratford, that the old gentleman never forgave him. And Mr. Aubrey's account of this matter, which I had not then ſeen, fully confirms what I ſuggeſted on the ſubject: for here we find, that the epitaph was made after Combe's death. Nor is this ſprightly effuſion inconſiſtent with Shakſpeare's having lived in a certain degree of familiarity with that gentleman; whom he might have reſpected for ſome qualities, though he indulged himſelf in a ſudden and playful cenſure of his inordinate attention to the acquirement of wealth, at a time when that ridicule could not affect him who was the object of it.

Mr. Steevens has juſtly obſerved, that the verſes exhibited by Mr. Rowe, contain not a jocular epitaph, but a malevolent prediction; and every reader will, I am ſure, readily agree with him, that it is extremely improbable that Shakſpeare ſhould have poiſoned the hour of confidence and friendſhip by producing one of the ſevereſt cenſures on one of his company, and ſo wantonly and publickly expreſs his doubts concerning the ſalvation of one of his fellow creatures. The foregoing more accurate ſtatement entirely vindicates our poet from this imputation.

Theſe extemporary verſes having, I ſuppoſe, not been ſet down in writing by their author, and being inaccurately tranſmitted to London, appear in an intirely different ſhape in *Braithwaite's Remaines*, and there we find them affixed to a tomb erected by Mr. Combe in his life-time. I have already ſhewn that no ſuch tomb was erected by Mr. Combe, and therefore Braithwaite's ſtory is as little to be credited as Mr. Rowe's. That ſuch various repreſentations ſhould be made of verſes of which the author probably never gave a written copy, and perhaps never thought of after he had

uttered them, is not at all extraordinary. Who has not, in his own experience, met with ſimilar variations in the accounts of a tranſaction which paſſed but a few months before he had occaſion to examine minutely and accurately into the real ſtate of the fact?

In further ſupport of Mr. Aubrey's exhibition of theſe verſes, it may be obſerved, that in his copy the firſt couplet is original; in Mr. Rowe's exhibition of them it is borrowed from preceding epitaphs. In the fourth line, *Ho* (not Oh *bo*, as Mr. Rowe has it,) was in Shakſpeare's age the appropriate exclamation of Robin Goodfellow, *alias* Pucke, *alias* Hobgoblin.[8]

Mr. Aubrey informs us laſtly, that Shakſpeare "was wont to go to his native country once a yeare. I thinke I have been told that he left near 300l. to a ſiſter. He underſtood Latin pretty well, for he had been in his younger years a ſchool-maſter in the country."

Many traditional anecdotes, though not perfectly accurate, contain an adumbration of the truth. It is obſervable that Mr. Aubrey ſpeaks here with ſome degree of doubt;—"I *think* I have been told;" and his memory, or that of his informer, led him into an errour with reſpect to the perſon to whom our poet bequeathed this legacy, who, we find from his will, was his daughter, not his ſiſter: but though Aubrey was miſtaken as to the perſon, his information with reſpect to the amount of the legacy was perfectly correct; for 300l. was the preciſe ſum which Shakſpeare left to his ſecond daughter, Judith.

[8] See Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 202.

In like manner, I am ſtrongly inclined to think that the laſt aſſertion contains, though not the truth, yet ſomething like it: I mean, that Shakſpeare had been employed for ſome time in his younger years as a *teacher* in the country; though Dr. Farmer has inconteſtably proved, that he could not have been a teacher of *Latin*. I have already ſuggeſted my opinion, that before his coming to London he had acquired ſome ſhare of legal knowledge in the office of a petty country conveyancer, or in that of the ſteward of ſome manerial court. It is not neceſſary here to repeat the reaſons on which that opinion is founded. If he began to apply to this ſtudy at the age of eighteen, two years afterwards he might have been ſufficiently converſant with conveyances to have taught others the forms of ſuch legal aſſurances as are uſually prepared by country attorneys; and perhaps ſpent two or three years in this employment before he removed from Stratford to London. Some uncertain rumour of this kind might have continued to the middle of the laſt century; and by the time it reached Mr. Aubrey, our poet's original occupation was changed from a ſcrivener's to that of a ſchool-maſter.

I now proceed to the more immediate object of our preſent inquiry; our poet's merit as an actor.

"Being inclined naturally (ſays Mr. Aubrey) to poetry and acting, he came to London, I gueſſe about 18, and was an actor at one of the playhouſes, and did act exceedingly well. Now Ben Jonſon never was a good actor, but an excellent inſtructor."

The firſt obſervation that I ſhall make on this account is, that the latter part of it, which informs us that Ben Jonſon was a bad actor, is inconteſtably confirmed by one of the comedies of Decker; and

therefore, though there were no other evidence, it might be plauſibly inferred that Mr. Aubrey's information concerning our poet's powers on the ſtage was not leſs accurate. But in this inſtance I am not under the neceſſity of reſting on ſuch an inference; for I am able to produce the teſtimony of a contemporary in ſupport of Shakſpeare's hiſtrionick merit. In the preface to a pamphlet entitled *Kinde-Hartes Dreame*, publiſhed in December 1592, which I have already had occaſion to quote for another purpoſe, the author, Henry Chettle, who was himſelf a dramatick writer, and well acquainted with the principal poets and players of the time, thus ſpeaks of Shakſpeare:

" The other,[9] whom at that time I did not ſo much ſpare, as ſince I wiſh I had, for that as I have moderated the hate of living writers, and might have uſed my own diſcretion, (eſpecially in ſuch a caſe, the author [Robert Greene] being dead,) I am as ſorry as if the original fault had been my fault; becauſe my ſelfe have ſeene his demeanour no leſs civil than he EXCELLENT *in the qualitie he profeſſes:* beſides, divers of worſhip have reported his uprightneſs of dealing, which argues his honeſtie, and his facetious grace in writing, that approves his art."

To thoſe who are not converſant with the language of our old writers, it may be proper to obſerve, that the words, " *the qualitie he profeſſes,*" particularly denote his profeſſion as an *actor*. The latter part of the paragraph indeed, in which he is praiſed as a good man and an elegant *writer*,

[9] That by the words *The other*, was meant Shakſpeare, has been already ſhewn in the *Eſſay on the Order of his Plays*, Vol. I.

ſhews this: however, the following paſſage in Stephen Goſſon's *Schoole of Abuſe*, 1579, in which the very ſame words occur, will put this matter beyond a doubt. "Over-laſhing in apparell (ſays Goſſon) is ſo common a fault, that the verye hyerlings of ſome of our plaiers, which ſtand at the reverſion of vi s. by the weeke, jet under gentlemen's noſes in ſutes of ſilke, exerciſing themſelves in prating on the ſtage, and common ſcoffing when they come abrode; where they looke aſkance at every man of whom the ſonday before they begged an almes. I ſpeak not this, as though every one that *profeſſeth the qualitie*, ſo abuſed him ſelfe; for it is well knowen, that ſome of them are ſober, diſcreet, properly learned, honeſt houſeholders, and citizens well thought on amonge their neighbours at home, though the pride of their ſhadowes (I meane thoſe hange-byes whome they ſuccour with ſtipend) cauſe them to bee ſomewhat talked of abrode."[a]

Thus early was Shakſpeare celebrated as an actor, and thus unfounded was the information which Mr. Rowe obtained on this ſubject. Wright, a more diligent enquirer, and who had better opportunities of gaining theatrical intelligence, had ſaid about ten years before, that he had "heard our author was a better poet than an actor;" but this deſcription, though probably true, may ſtill leave him a conſiderable portion of merit in the latter capacity: for if the various powers and peculiar excellencies of all the actors from his time to the preſent, were united in one man, it may well be doubted, whether they would conſtitute a

[a] In the margin this cautious puritan adds—"Some players modeſt, *if I be not deceived.*"

performer whoſe merit ſhould entitle him to "bench by the ſide" of Shakſpeare as a poet.

A paſſage indeed in Lodge's *Incarnate Devills of the age*, 1596, has been pointed out, as levelled at our poet's performance of the Ghoſt in *Hamlet*. But this in my apprehenſion is a miſtake. The ridicule intended to be conveyed by the paſſage in queſtion was, I have no doubt, aimed at the actor who performed the part of the Ghoſt in ſome miſerable play which was produced before Shakſpeare commenced either actor or writer. That ſuch a play once exiſted, I have already ſhewn to be highly probable; and the tradition tranſmitted by Betterton, that our poet's performance of the Ghoſt in his own *Hamlet* was his *chef d'oeuvre*, adds ſupport to my opinion.

That Shakſpeare had a perfect knowledge of his art, is proved by the inſtructions which are given to the player in *Hamlet*, and by other paſſages in his works; which in addition to what I have already ſtated, incline me to think that the traditional account tranſmitted by Mr. Rowe, relative to his powers on the ſtage, has been too haſtily credited. In the celebrated ſcene between Hamlet and his mother, ſhe thus addreſſes him;

" —— Alas, how is't with you?
" That *you do bend your eye on vacancy*,
" *And with the incorporeal air do hold diſcourſe?*
" *Forth at your eyes your ſpirits wildly peep*;
" And, as the ſleeping ſoldiers in the alarm,
" Your bedded hair, like life in excrements,
" Starts up, and ſtands on end.—Whereon do you look
" *Ham.* On him! on him! look you, how pale he glares!
" His form and cauſe conjoin'd, preaching to ſtones,
" Would make them capable. Do not *look upon me*,
" Leſt with *this piteous action*, you convert

" My ſtern effects: then what I have to do
" Will want true colour; tears perchance for blood."

Can it be imagined that he would have attributed theſe lines to Hamlet, unleſs he was confident that in his own part he could give efficacy to that *piteous action* of the Ghoſt, which he has ſo forcibly deſcribed? or that the preceding lines ſpoken by the Queen, and the deſcription of a tragedian in *King Richard III.* could have come from the pen of an ordinary actor?

" *Rich.* Come, couſin, can'ſt thou quake and *change thy colour?*
" *Murther thy breath in middle of a word?*
" *And then again begin, and ſtop again,*
" *As if thou wert diſtraught, and mad with terror?*
" *Buck.* Tut, I can counterfeit the deep tragedian;
" Speak, and look big, and *pry on every ſide,*
" *Tremble and ſtart at wagging of a ſtraw,*
" *Intending deep ſuſpicion: ghaſtly looks*
" *Are at my ſervice, like enforced ſmiles;*
" And both are ready in their offices,
" At any time, to grace my ſtratagems."

I do not, however, believe, that our poet played parts of the firſt rate, though he probably diſtinguiſhed himſelf by whatever he performed. If the names of the actors prefixed to *Every Man in his Humour* were arranged in the ſame order as the perſons of the drama, he muſt have repreſented *Old Knowell*; and if we may give credit to an anecdote related in a former page, he was the *Adam* in his own *As you like it.* Perhaps he excelled in repreſenting old men. The following contemptible lines written by a contemporary, about the year 1611, might lead us to ſuppoſe that he alſo acted Duncan in *Macbeth*, and the parts of King Henry the Fourth, and King Henry the Sixth:

" To our Engliſh Terence, Mr. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

" Some ſay, good Will, which I in ſport do ſing,
" Hadſt thou not play'd ſome *kingly parts* in ſport,
" Thou hadſt been a companion for a king,
" And been a king among the meaner ſort.
" Some others raile, but raile as they think fit,
" Thou haſt no railing but a raigning wit;
" And honeſty thou ſow'ſt, which they do reape,
" So to increaſe their ſtock which they do keepe."

The Scourge of Folly, by John Davies, of Hereford, no date.

RICHARD BURBADGE,[3]

the moſt celebrated tragedian of our author's time, was the ſon of James Burbadge, who was alſo an actor, and perhaps a countryman of Shakeſpeare. He lived in Holywell-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, from which circumſtance I conjecture that he had originally played at the Curtain theatre, which was in that neighbourhood; for he does not appear to have been born in that pariſh; at leaſt I ſearched the regiſter from its commencement in 1558, in vain, for his birth. It is ſtrange, however, that he ſhould have continued to live from the year 1600 to his death, in a place which was near three miles diſtant from the Blackfriars playhouſe, and ſtill further from the Globe, in which theatres he acted during the whole of that time. He appears to have married about

[3] In writing this performer's name I have followed the ſpelling uſed by his brother, who was a witneſs to his will; but the name ought rather to be *Burbidge*, (as it often formerly was,) being manifeſtly an abbreviation or corruption of *Borough-bridge*.

the year 1600; and if at that time we ſuppoſe him thirty years old, his birth muſt be placed in 1570. By his wife, whoſe chriſtian name was Winefrid, he had four daughters; Juliet, or Julia, (for the name is written both ways in the regiſter,) who was baptized Jan. 2, 1602-3, and died in 1608; Frances, baptized Sep. 16, 1604; Winefrid, baptized Octob. 5, 1613, and buried in October, 1616; and a ſecond Juliet, (or Julia,) who was baptized Dec. 26, 1614. This child and Frances appear to have ſurvived their father. His fondneſs for the name of Juliet, perhaps aroſe from his having been the original Romeo in our author's play.

Camden has placed the death of Burbadge on the 9th of March, 1619.[4] On what day he died, is now of little conſequence; but to aſcertain the degree of credit due to hiſtorians is of ſome importance; and it may be worth while to remark how very ſeldom minute accuracy is to be expected even from contemporary writers. The fact is, that Burbadge died ſome days later, probably on the 13th of that month; for his will was made on the 12th, and he was buried in the church of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, on the 16th of March, 1618-19. His laſt will, extracted from the regiſtry of the Prerogative court, is as follows:

" MEMORANDUM, That on Frydaye the twelfth of March, Anno Domini, one thouſand ſix hundred and eighteen, Richard Burbage of the pariſh of Saint Leonard, Shoreditch, in the county of Middleſex, gent. being ſick in body, but of good and perfect remembrance, did make his laſt will and teſtament, nuncupative, in manner and form following; viz. He the ſaid Richard did nominate

[4] " 1619. Martii 9. Richardus Burbadge, alter Roſcius, obiit." *Regni regis Jacobi I. Annalium Apparatus*, 4to. 1691.

and appoint his well beloved wife, Winifride Burbage to be his ſole executrix of all his goods & chattels whatſoever, in the preſence and hearing of the perſons undernamed:

Cuthbert Burbadge, brother to the teſtator,
⋊ The mark of Elizabeth, his wife.
Nicholas Tooley.
Anne Lancaſter.
Richard Robinſon.
⋊ The mark of Elizabeth Graves.
Henry Jackſonne.

Probatum fuit teſtamentum ſupraſcriptum apud London, coram judice, 22° Aprilis, 1619, juramento Winifride Burbadge, relictæ dicti defuncti et executricis in eodem teſtamento nominat. cui commiſſa fuit adminiſtratio de bene, &c. jurat."

Richard Burbadge is introduced in perſon in an old play called *The Returne from Parnaſſus*, (written in or about 1602,) and inſtructs a Cambridge ſcholar how to play the part of King Richard the Third, in which Burbadge was greatly admired. That he repreſented this character, is aſcertained by Biſhop Corbet, who in his *Iter Boreale*, ſpeaking of his hoſt at Leiceſter, tells us,

" —— when he would have ſaid, King Richard died,
" And call'd a horſe, a horſe, he *Burbage* cry'd."

He probably alſo performed the parts of King John, Richard the Second, Henry the Fifth, Timon, Brutus, Coriolanus, Macbeth, Lear, and Othello.

He was one of the principal ſharers or proprietors of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres; and was of ſuch eminence, that in a letter preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, written in the year 1613, (MSS.

Harl. 7002,) the actors at the Globe are called *Burbadge's Company.*[5]

The following character of this celebrated player is given by Fleckno in his *Short Diſcourſe of the Engliſh Stage*, 1664.

" He was a delightful Proteus, ſo wholly transforming himſelf into his parts, and putting off himſelf with his cloaths, as he never (not ſo much as in the tyring houſe) aſſumed himſelf again, untill the play was done.—He had all the parts of an excellent orator, animating his words with ſpeaking, and ſpeech with action; his auditors being never more delighted than when he ſpake, nor more ſorry than when he held his peace: yet even then he was an excellent actor ſtill; never failing in his part, when he had done ſpeaking, but with his looks and geſture maintaining it ſtill to the height."

It ſhould not, however, be concealed, that Fleckno had previouſly printed this character as a portrait of *An excellent actor*, in general, and there is reaſon to believe that this writer never ſaw Burbadge: for Fleckno did not die till about the year 1682 or 1683, and conſequently, ſuppoſing him then ſeventy-five years old, he muſt have been a boy when this celebrated player died. The teſtimony of Sir Richard Baker is of more value, who pronounces him to have been " ſuch an actor, as no age muſt ever look to ſee the like." Sir Richard Baker was born in 1568, and died in 1644-5; and appears,

[5] In Jonſon's *Maſque of Chriſtmas*, 1616, Burbadge and Heminge are both mentioned as managers: " I could ha' had money enough for him, an I would ha' been tempted, and ha' ſet him out by the week to the king's players: Maſter Burbadge hath been about and about with me, and ſo has old Mr. Heminge too; they ha' need of him."

from various paſſages in his works, to have paid much attention to the theatre, in defence of which he wrote a treatiſe."

In Philpot's additions to Camden's *Remains*, we find an epitaph on this tragedian, more conciſe than even that on Ben Jonſon; being only, "*Exit Burbidge.*"

The following old epitaph on Burbadge, which is found in a MS. in the Muſeum, (MSS. Sloan. 1786,) is only worthy of preſervation, as it ſhews how high the reputation of this actor was in his own age:

"Epitaph on Mr. RICHARD BURBAGE, the player.[6]

"This life's a play, ſcean'd out by natures arte,
"Where every man hath his allotted parte.
"This man hathe now (as many more can tell)
"Ended his part, and he hath acted well.
"The play now ended, think his grave to be
"The detiring howſe of his ſad tragedie;
"Where to give his fame this, be not afraid,
"Here lies the beſt tragedian ever plaid."

JOHN HEMINGE

is ſaid by Roberts the player to have been a tra-

[6] I did not till lately diſcover that there is an original picture of this admired actor in Dulwich College, or his portrait ſhould have been engraved for this work. However, the defect will very ſpeedily be remedied by *Mr. Sylveſter Harding*, the ingenious artiſt whom I employed to make a copy of the picture of Lowin at Oxford, which he executed with perfect fidelity; and who means to give the publick in twenty numbers, at a very moderate price, not only all ſuch portraits as can be found, of the actors who perſonated the principal characters in our author's plays, while he was on the ſtage, but alſo an aſſemblage of genuine heads of the real perſonages repreſented in them; together with various views of the different places in which the ſcene of his hiſtorical dramas is placed. Each plate will be of the ſame ſize as that of Lowin, ſo as to ſuit the preſent edition.

gedian, and in conjunction with Condell, to have followed the buſineſs of printing;[7] but it does not appear that he had any authority for theſe aſſertions. In ſome tract of which I have forgot to preſerve the title, he is ſaid to have been the original performer of Falſtaff.

I ſearched the regiſter of St. Mary's Aldermanbury, (in which pariſh this actor lived,) for the time of his birth, in vain. Ben Jonſon in the year 1616, as we have juſt ſeen, calls him *old* Mr. Heminge: if at that time he was ſixty years of age, then his birth muſt be placed in 1556. I ſuſpect that both he and Burbadge were Shakſpeare's countrymen, and that Heminge was born at Shottery, a village in Warwickſhire, at a very ſmall diſtance from Stratford-upon-Avon; where Shakſpeare found his wife. I find two families of this name ſettled in that town early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Elizabeth, the daughter of *John Heming* of Shottery, was baptized at Stratford-upon Avon, March 12, 1567. This John might have been the father of the actor, though I have found no entry relative to his baptiſm: for he was probably born before the year 1558, when the Regiſter commenced. In the village of Shottery alſo lived *Richard Hemyng*, who had a ſon chriſtened by the name of John, March 7, 1570. Of the Burbadge family the only notice I have found, is, an entry in the regiſter of the pariſh of Stratford, October 12, 1565, on which day Philip Green was married in that town to Urſula *Burbadge*, who might have been ſiſter to James Burbadge, the father of the actor, whoſe marriage I ſuppoſe to have taken place about that time. If this con-

[7] Anſwer to Pope, 1729.

jecture be well founded, our poet, we ſee, had an eaſy introduction to the theatre.

John Heminge appears to have married in or before the year 1589, his eldeſt daughter, Alice, having been baptized October 6, 1590. Beſide this child, he had four ſons; John, born in 1598, who died an infant; a ſecond John, baptized Auguſt 7, 1599; William, baptized October 3, 1602, and George, baptized February 11, 1603-4; and eight daughters; Judith, Thomaſine, Joan, Rebecca, Beatrice, Elizabeth, Mary, (who died in 1611,) and Margaret. Of his daughters four only appear to have been married; Alice to John Atkins in January, 1612-13; Rebecca to Captain William Smith; Margaret to Mr. Thomas Sheppard, and another to a perſon of the name of Merefield. The eldeſt ſon, John, probably died in his father's life-time, as by his laſt will he conſtituted his ſon William his executor.

William, whoſe birth Wood has erroneouſly placed in 1605, was a ſtudent of Chriſt-church, Oxford, where he took the degree of a Maſter of Arts in 1628. Soon after his father's death he commenced a dramatick poet, having produced in March, 1632-3, a comedy entitled *The Courſinge of a Hare, or the Madcapp*,[8] which was performed at the Fortune theatre, but is now loſt. He was likewiſe author of two other plays which are extant; *The Fatal Contract*, publiſhed in 1653, and *The Jews Tragedy*, 1662.

From an entry in the Council-books at Whitehall, I find that John Heminge was one of the principal proprietors of the Globe playhouſe, before the death of Queen Elizabeth. He is joined

[8] MS. Herbert.

with Shakſpeare, Burbadge, &c. in the licence granted by King James immediately after his acceſſion to the throne in 1603; and all the payments made by the Treaſurer of the Chamber in 1613, on account of plays performed at court, are "to *John Heminge* and the reſt of his fellows." So alſo in ſeveral ſubſequent years, in that and the following reign. In 1623, in conjunction with Condell, he publiſhed the firſt complete edition of our author's plays; ſoon after which it has been ſuppoſed that he withdrew from the theatre; but this is a miſtake. He certainly then ceaſed to act,[9] but he continued chief director of the king's company of comedians to the time of his death. He died at his houſe in Aldermanbury, where he had long lived, on the 10th of October 1630, in, as I conjecture, the 74th or 75th year of his age, and was buried on the 12th, as appears by the Regiſter of St. Mary's Aldermanbury, in which he is ſtyled, "John Heminge, *player*."

I ſuſpect he died of the plague, which had raged ſo violently that year, that the playhouſes were ſhut up in April, and not permitted to be opened till the 12th of November, at which time the weekly bill of thoſe who died in London of that diſtemper, was diminiſhed to twenty-nine.[a] His ſon William, into whoſe hands his papers muſt have

[9] That he and Condell had ceaſed to act in the year 1623, is aſcertained by a paſſage in their Addreſs "to the great varietie of readers," prefixed to our poet's plays. "Reade him therefore, and againe, and againe: and if then you do not like him, ſurely you are in ſome manifeſt danger not to underſtand him. And ſo we leave you to *other of his friends*, whom if you need, can be your guides." i. e. their fellow-comedians, who ſtill continued on the ſtage, and, by repreſenting our author's plays, could elucidate them, and thus ſerve as guides to the publick.

[a] MS. Herbert.

fallen, ſurvived him little more than twenty years, having died ſome time before the year 1653: and where thoſe books of account of which his father ſpeaks, now are, cannot be aſcertained. One cannot but entertain a wiſh that at ſome future period they may be diſcovered, as they undoubtedly would throw ſome light on our ancient ſtage-hiſtory. The day before his death, John Heminge made his will, of which I ſubjoin a copy, extracted from the Regiſtry of the Prerogative Court. In this inſtrument he ſtyles himſelf *a grocer*, but how he obtained his freedom of the grocers' company, does not appear.

"IN the name of God, Amen, the 9th day of October, 1630, and in the ſixth year of the reign of our ſovereign Lord, Charles, by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. I John Heminge, citizen and grocer of London, being of perfect mind and memory, thanks be therefore given unto Almighty God, yet well knowing and conſidering the frailty and incertainty of man's life, do therefore make, ordain, and declare this my laſt will and teſtament in manner and form following.

Firſt, and principally, I give and bequeath my ſoul into the hands of Almighty God, my Maker and Creator, hoping and aſſuredly believing through the only merits, death and paſſion, of Jeſus Chriſt my ſaviour and redeemer, to obtain remiſſion and pardon of all my ſins, and to enjoy eternal happineſs in the kingdom of heaven; and my body I commit to the earth, to be buried in chriſtian manner, in the pariſh church of Mary Aldermanbury in London, as near unto my loving wife Rebecca Heminge, who lieth there interred, and under the ſame ſtone which lieth in part over her there, if the ſame

conveniently may be: wherein I do deſire my executor herein after named carefully to ſee my will performed, and that my funeral may be in decent and comely manner performed in the evening, without any vain pomp or coſt therein to be beſtowed.

Item, My will is, that all ſuch debts as I ſhall happen to owe at the time of my deceaſe to any perſon or perſons, (being truly and properly mine own debts,) ſhall be well and truly ſatisfied and paid as ſoon after my deceaſe as the ſame conveniently may be; and to that intent and purpoſe my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that all my leaſes, goods, chattles, plate, and houſehold ſtuffe whatſoever, which I leave or ſhall be poſſeſſed of at the time of my deceaſe, ſhall immediately after my deceaſe be ſold to the moſt and beſt benefit and advantage that the ſame or any of them may or can, and that the monies thereby raiſed ſhall go and be employed towards the payment and diſcharge of my ſaid debts, as ſoon as the ſame may be converted into monies and be received, without fraud or covin; and that if the ſame leaſes, goods, and chattels, ſhall not raiſe ſo much money as ſhall be ſufficient to pay my debts, then my will and mind is, and I do hereby will and appoint, that the moiety or one half of the yearly benefit and profit of the ſeveral parts which I have by leaſe in the ſeveral playhouſes of the Globe and Black-fryers, for and during ſuch time and term as I have therein, be from time to time received and taken up by my executor herein after named, and by him from time to time faithfully employed towards the payment of ſuch of my ſaid own proper debts which ſhall remain unſatisfied, and that proportionably to every perſon and perſons to whom I ſhall then

remain indebted, until by the ſaid moiety or one half of the ſaid yearly benefit and profit of the ſaid parts they ſhall be ſatisfied and paid without fraud or covin. And if the ſaid moiety or one half of the ſaid yearly benefit of my ſaid parts in the ſaid play-houſes ſhall not in ſome convenient time raiſe ſufficient moneys to pay my ſaid own debts, then my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that the other moiety or half part of the benefit and profit of my ſaid parts in the ſaid play-houſes be alſo received and taken up by my ſaid executor herein after named, and faithfully from time to time employed and paid towards the ſpeedier ſatisfaction and payment of my ſaid debts. And then, after my ſaid debts ſhall be ſo ſatisfied and paid, then I limit and appoint the ſaid benefit and profit ariſing by my ſaid parts in the ſaid play-houſes, and the employment of the ſame, to be received and employed towards the payment of the legacies by me herein after given and bequeathed, and to the raiſing of portions for ſuch of my ſaid children as at the time of my deceaſe ſhall have received from me no advancement. And I do hereby deſire my executor herein after named to ſee this my will and meaning herein to be well and truly performed, according to the truſt and confidence by me in him repoſed.

Item, I give, deviſe, and bequeath, unto my daughter Rebecca Smith, now wife of Captain William Smith, my beſt ſuit of linen, wrought with cutwork, which was her mother's; and to my ſon Smith, her huſband, his wife's picture, ſet up in a frame in my houſe.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Margaret Sheppard, wife of Mr. Thomas Sheppard, my red cuſhions embroidered with bugle, which

were her mother's; and to my ſaid ſon Sheppard, his wife's picture, which is alſo ſet up in a frame in my houſe.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth, my green cuſhions which were her mother's.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Merefield my clothe-of-ſilver ſtriped cuſhions which were her mother's.

Item, I give and bequeath unto ſo many of my daughter Merefield's, and my daughter Sheppard's children, as ſhall be living at the time of my deceaſe, fifty ſhillings apiece.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my grandchild, Richard Atkins, the ſum of five pounds of lawful money of England, to buy him books.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my ſon-in-law John Atkins, and his now wife, if they ſhall be living with me at the time of my deceaſe, forty ſhillings, to make them two rings, in remembrance of me.

Item, I give and bequeath unto every of my fellows and ſharers, his majeſties ſervants, which ſhall be living at the time of my deceaſe, the ſum of ten ſhillings apiece, to make them rings for remembrance of me.

Item, I give and bequeath unto John Rice, Clerk, of St. Saviour's in Southwark, (if he ſhall be living at the time of my deceaſe,) the ſum of twenty ſhillings of lawful Engliſh money, for a remembrance of my love unto him.

Item, I give and bequeath unto the poor of the pariſh of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, where I long lived, and whither I have bequeathed my body for burial, the ſum of forty ſhillings of lawful Engliſh money, to be diſtributed by the churchwardens of the ſame pariſh where moſt need ſhall be.

Item, My will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that the ſeveral legacies and ſums of money by me herein before bequeathed to be paid in money, be raiſed and taken out of the yearly profit and benefit which ſhall ariſe or be made by my ſeveral parts and ſhares in the ſeveral playhouſes called the Globe and Blackfriers, after my ſaid debts ſhall be paid, with as much ſpeed as the ſame conveniently may be; and I do hereby will, require, and charge my executor herein after named eſpecially to take care that my debts, firſt, and then thoſe legacies, be well and truly paid and diſcharged, as ſoon as the ſame may be ſo raiſed by the ſale of my goods and by the yearly profits of my parts and ſhares; and that my eſtate may be ſo ordered to the beſt profit and advantage for the better payment of my debts and diſcharge of my legacies before mentioned with as much ſpeed as the ſame conveniently may be, according as I have herein before in this will directed and appointed the ſame to be, without any leſſening, diminiſhing, or undervaluing thereof, contrary to my true intent and meaning herein declared. And for the better performance thereof, my will, mind, and deſire is, that my ſaid parts in the ſaid play-houſes ſhould be employed in playing, the better to raiſe profit thereby, as formerly the ſame have been, and have yielded good yearly profit, as by my books will in that behalf appear. And my will and mind is, and I do hereby ordain, limit, and appoint, that after my debts, funerals, and legacies ſhall be paid and ſatisfied out of my eſtate, that then the reſidue and remainder of my goods, chattels, and credits whatſoever ſhall be equally parted and divided to and amongſt ſuch of my children as at the time of my deceaſe ſhall be unmarried or unadvanced, and ſhall

not have received from me any portion in marriage or otherwiſe, further than only for their education and breeding, part and part like; and I do hereby ordain and make my ſon William Heminge to be the executor of this my laſt will and teſtament, requiring him to ſee the ſame performed in and by all things, according to my true meaning herein declared. And I do deſire and appoint my loving friends Mr. Burbage[1] and Mr. Rice to be the overſeers of this my laſt will and teſtament, praying them to be aiding and aſſiſting to my ſaid executor with their beſt advice and council in the execution thereof: and I do hereby utterly revoke all former wills by me heretofore made, and do pronounce, publiſh, and declare this to be my laſt will and teſtament. In witneſs whereof I have hereunto put my hand and ſeal the day and year firſt above written.

Probatum fuit teſtamentum ſupraſcriptum apud London coram venerabili viro, magiſtro Willielmo James, legum doctore, Surrogato, undecimo die menſis Octobris, Anno Domini, 1630, *juramento Willielmi Heminge filii naturalis et legitim. dicti defuncti, et executoris, cui, &c. de bene, &c. jurat.*

AUGUSTINE PHILIPS.

This performer is likewiſe named in the licence granted by King James in 1603. It appears from Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, printed in 1612, that he was then dead. In an extraordinary exhibition, entitled *The Seven deadly Sins*, written by Tarleton, of which the MS. plot or ſcheme is in my poſſeſſion, he repreſented *Sardanapalus*. I have not

[1] Cuthbert Burbadge, brother to the actor.

been able to learn what parts he performed in our author's plays; but believe that he was in the ſame claſs as Kempe, and Armine; for he appears, like the former of theſe players, to have publiſhed a ludicrous metrical piece, which was entered on the Stationers' books in 1595. Philips's production was entitled *The Jigg of the Slippers.*

WILLIAM KEMPE

was the ſucceſſor of Tarleton. "Here I muſt needs remember Tarleton, (ſays Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors,*) in his time gracious with the queen his ſoveraigne, and in the people's general applauſe; whom ſucceeded *Will. Kemp,* as well in the favour of her majeſtie, as in the opinion and good thoughts of the general audience." From the quarto editions of ſome of our author's plays, we learn that he was the original performer of Dogberry in *Much Ado about Nothing,* and of Peter in *Romeo and Juliet.* From an old comedy called *The Return from Parnaſſus,* we may collect that he was the original Juſtice Shallow; and the contemporary writers inform us that he uſually acted the part of a Clown; in which character, like Tarleton, he was celebrated for his *extemporal* wit.[4] Launcelot in *The Merchant of Venice,* Touchſtone in *As you like it,* Launce in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona,* and the Grave-digger in *Hamlet,* were probably alſo performed by this comedian. He was an author as well as an actor.[5]

[4] See p. 242, n. 7.

[5] See *The Returne from Parnaſſus,* a comedy, 1606: "Indeed, *M. Kempe,* you are very famous, but that is as well for *workes in print* as your part in cue." Kempe's *New Jigg of the Kitchen-ſtuff Woman* was entered on the books of the Stationers' company in 1595; and in the ſame year was licenſed to Thomas Goſſon,

So early as in the year 1589 Kempe's comick talents appear to have been highly eſtimated, for an old pamphlet called *An Almond for a Parrot*, written, I think, by Thomas Naſhe, and publiſhed about that time, is dedicated "to that moſt comicall and conceited Cavaleire *Monſieur du Kempe*, Jeſtmonger, and vice-gerent generall to the Ghoſt of Dicke Tarleton."

From a paſſage in one of Decker's tracts it may be preſumed that this comedian was dead in the year 1609.[6]

In Braithwaite's *Remains*, 1618, he is thus commemorated:

"Kempes *New Jigge* betwixt a Souldier and a Miſer and Sym the Clowne."

Sept. 7, 1593, was entered on the Stationers' books, by R. Jones, "A comedie entitled *A Knack how to know a Knave*, newly ſet forth, as it hath been ſundrye times plaied by Ned Allen and his company, with *Kempes* applauded merryment of *The Men of Gotham*."

In the Bodleian Library, among the books given to it by Robert Burton, is the following tract, bound up with a few others of the ſame ſize, in a quarto volume marked L, 62d. art.:

"Kemps nine daies wonder performed in a daunce from London to Norwich. Containing the pleaſure, paines and kind entertainment of William Kemp between London and that city, in his late morrice. Wherein is ſomewhat ſet downe worth note; to reproove the ſlaunders ſpred of him: many things merry, nothing hurtfull. Written by himſelfe, to ſatiſfie his friends." (Lond. E. A. for Nicholas Ling. 1600. b. l.—With a wooden cut of Kempe as a morris-dancer, preceded by a fellow with a pipe and drum, whom he (in the book) calls Thomas Slye, his taberer.) It is dedicated to "The true ennobled lady, and moſt bountifull miſtris, miſtris Anne Fitton, mayde of honour to the moſt ſacred mayde royall queene Elizabeth."

[6] "Tuſh, tuſh, Tarleton, *Kempe*, nor Singer, nor all the litter of fooles that *now* come drawling behind them, never played the clownes part more naturally than the arranteſt ſot of you all." *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609.

"UPON KEMPE AND HIS MORICE, WITH HIS EPITAPH.

" Welcome from Norwich, Kempe: all joy to ſee
" Thy ſafe return moriſcoed luſtily.
" But out alas! how ſoone's thy morice done,
" When pipe and tabor, all thy friends be gone;
" And leave thee now to dance the ſecond part
" With feeble nature, not with nimble art!
" Then all thy triumphs fraught with ſtrains of mirth,
" Shall be cag'd up within a cheſt of earth:
" Shall be? they are; thou haſt danc'd thee out of breath;
" And now muſt make thy parting dance with death."

THOMAS POPE.

This actor likewiſe performed the part of a Clown.[7] He died before the year 1600.[8]

GEORGE BRYAN.

I have not been able to gather any intelligence concerning this performer, except that in the exhibition of *The Seven deadly Sins* he repreſented the Earl of Warwick. He was, I believe, on the ſtage before the year 1588.

HENRY CUNDALL

is ſaid by Roberts the player to have been a comedian, but he does not mention any other authority

7 " ——— what meanes Singer then,
" And *Pope*, the *clowne*, to ſpeak ſo boriſh, when
" They counterfaite the clownes upon the ſtage?"
Humours Ordinarie, where a Man may be verie merie and exceeding well uſed for his Sixpence. (No date.)

8 Heywood's *Apology for Actors.*

for this aſſertion but ſtage-tradition. In Webſter's *Dutcheſs of Malfy* he originally acted the part of the Cardinal; and as, when that play was printed in 1623, another performer had ſucceeded him in that part, he had certainly before that time retired from the ſtage. He ſtill, however, continued to have an intereſt in the theatre, being mentioned with the other players to whom a licence was granted by King Charles the Firſt in 1625. He had probably a conſiderable portion of the *ſhares* or property of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres. This actor as well as Heminge lived in Aldermanbury, in which pariſh he ſerved the office of *Sideman* in the year 1606. I have not been able to aſcertain his age; but he appears to have married about the year 1598, and had eight children, the eldeſt of whom was born in Feb. 1598-99, and died an infant. Three only of his children appear to have ſurvived him; Henry, born in 1600; Elizabeth in 1606; and William, baptized May 26, 1611. Before his death he reſided for ſome time at Fulham, but he died in London, and was buried in his pariſh church in Aldermanbury, Dec. 29, 1627. On the 13th of that month he made his will, of which I ſubjoin a copy, extracted from the regiſtry of the Prerogative Court.

" In the name of God, Amen, I Henry Cundall of London, gentleman, being ſick in body, but of perfect mind and memory, laud and praiſe be therefore given to Almighty God, calling to my remembrance that there is nothing in this world more ſure and certain to mankind than death, and nothing more uncertain than the hour thereof, do therefore make and declare this my laſt will and teſtament in manner and form following; that is to ſay, firſt I commend my ſoul

into the hands of Almighty God, truſting and aſſuredly believing that only by the merits of the precious death and paſſion of my Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt I ſhall obtain full and free pardon and remiſſion of all my ſins, and ſhall enjoy everlaſting life in the kingdom of heaven, amongſt the elect children of God. My body I commit to the earth, to be decently buried in the night-time in ſuch pariſh where it ſhall pleaſe God to call me. My worldly ſubſtance I diſpoſe of as followeth. And firſt concerning all and ſingular my freehold meſſuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments whatſoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, whereof I am and ſtand ſeized of any manner of eſtate of inheritance, I give, deviſe and bequeath the ſame as followeth:

Imprimis, I give, deviſe and bequeath all and ſingular my freehold meſſuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments whatſoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, ſituate, lying and being in Helmett-court in the Strand, and elſewhere, in the county of Middleſex, unto Elizabeth my well beloved wife, for and during the term of her natural life; and from and immediately after her deceaſe, unto my ſon Henry Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for want of ſuch iſſue unto my ſon William Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten; and for default of ſuch iſſue unto my daughter Elizabeth Finch, and to her heirs and aſſigns for ever.

Item, I give, deviſe and bequeath all and ſingular my freehold meſſuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whatſoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, ſituate, lying and being in the pariſh of St. Bride, alias Bridgett, near Fleet-ſtreet, London, and elſewhere in the city of London, and

the ſuburbes thereof, unto my well beloved wife Elizabeth Cundall and to her aſſigns, untill my ſaid ſon William Cundall his term of apprenticehood ſhall be fully expired by effluxion of time; and from and immediately after the ſaid term of apprenticehood ſhall be ſo fully expired, I give, deviſe and bequeath the ſame meſſuages and premiſes ſituate in the city of London, and the ſuburbes thereof, unto my ſaid ſon William Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for default of ſuch iſſue, unto my ſaid ſon Henry Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for default of ſuch iſſue unto my ſaid daughter Elizabeth Finch, and to her heirs and aſſigns for ever. And as concerning all and ſingular my goods, chattels, plate, houſehold ſtuff, ready money, debts, and perſonal eſtate, whatſoever and whereſoever, I give, deviſe, and bequeath the ſame as followeth: viz.

Imprimis, Whereas I am executor of the laſt will and teſtament of John Underwood, deceaſed, and by force of the ſame executorſhip became poſſeſſed of ſo much of the perſonal eſtate of the ſaid John Underwood, which is expreſſed in an inventory thereof, made and by me exhibited in due form of law into the eccleſiaſtical court. And whereas alſo in diſcharge of my ſaid executorſhip I have from time to time diſburſed divers ſums of money in the education and bringing up of the children of the ſaid John Underwood deceaſed as by my accompts kept in that behalf appeareth. Now in diſcharge of my conſcience, and in full performance of the truſt repoſed in me by the ſaid John Underwood, I do charge my executrix faithfully to pay to the ſurviving children of the ſaid John Underwood all and whatſoever ſhall be found and appear by my accompts to belong unto them, and to deliver unto

them all ſuch rings as was their late father's, and which are by me kept by themſelves apart in a little caſket.

Item, I do make, name, ordain and appoint my ſaid well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall, the full and ſole executrix of this my laſt will and teſtament, requiring and charging her, as ſhe will anſwer the contrary before Almighty God at the dreadful day of judgment, that ſhe will truely and faithfully perform the ſame, in and by all things according to my true intent and meaning; and I do earneſtly deſire my very loving friends, John Heminge, gentleman, Cuthbert Burbage, gentleman, my ſon-in-law Herbert Finch, and Peter Saunderſon, grocer, to be my overſeers, and to be aiding and aſſiſting unto my ſaid executrix in the due execution and performance of this my laſt will and teſtament. And I give and bequeath to every of my ſaid four overſeers the ſum of five pounds apiece to buy each of them a piece of plate.

Item, I give, deviſe, and bequeath, unto my ſaid ſon William Cundall, all the clear yearly rents and profits which ſhall ariſe and come from the time of my deceaſe, of and by my leaſes and terms of years, of all my meſſuages, houſes, and places, ſituate in the Blackfriars London, and at the Bankſide in the county of Surry, until ſuch time as that the full ſum of three hundred pounds by thoſe rents and profits may be raiſed for a ſtock for my ſaid ſon William,[9] if he ſhall ſo long live.

Item, for as much as I have by this my will dealt very bountifully with my well beloved wife Elizabeth Cundall, conſidering my eſtate, I do give and bequeath unto my ſon Henry Cundall for his maintenance, either at the univerſity or elſewhere, one

9 He was probably bound apprentice to Peter Saunderſon, grocer.

annuity or yearly ſum of thirty pounds of lawful money of England, to be paid unto my ſaid ſon Henry Cundall, or his aſſigns, during all the term of the natural life of the ſaid Elizabeth my wife, if my ſaid ſon Henry Cundall ſhall ſo long live, at the four moſt uſual feaſt-days or terms in the year, that is to ſay, at the feaſts of the birth of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Annunciation of the bleſſed Virgin Mary, Nativity of Saint John Baptiſt, and St. Michael the Archangel; or within the ſpace of twenty and eight days next enſuing after every of the ſame feaſt-days, by even and equal portions: the firſt payment thereof to begin and to be made at ſuch of the ſaid feaſt-days as ſhall firſt and next happen after the day of my deceaſe, or within the ſpace of twenty and eight days next enſuing after the ſame feaſt-day.

Item, I give and bequeath unto widow Martin and widow Gimber, to each of them reſpectively, for and during all the terms of their natural lives ſeverally, if my leaſes and terms of years of and in my houſes in Aldermanbury in London ſhall ſo long continue unexpired, one annuity or yearly ſum of twenty ſhillings apiece, of lawful money of England, to be paid unto them ſeverally, by even portions quarterly, at the feaſt-days above mentioned, or within the ſpace of twenty and eight days next enſuing after every of the ſame feaſt-days; the firſt payment of them ſeverally to begin and to be made at ſuch of the ſaid feaſts as ſhall firſt and next happen after my deceaſe or within the ſpace of twenty and eight days next enſuing after the ſame feaſt.

Item, I give, deviſe, and bequeath, unto the poor people of the pariſh of Fulham in the county of Middleſex, where I now dwell, the ſum of five pounds, to be paid to maſter Doctor Clewett, and

maſter Edmond Powell of Fulham, gentleman, and by them to be diſtributed.

Item, I give, deviſe, and bequeath unto my ſaid well beloved wife Elizabeth Cundall, and to my ſaid well beloved daughter Elizabeth Finch, all my houſehold ſtuff, bedding, linen, braſs, and pewter, whatſoever, remaining and being as well at my houſe in Fulham aforeſaid, as alſo in my houſe in Aldermanbury in London; to be equally divided between them part and part alike. And for the more equal dealing in that behalf, I will, appoint, and requeſt my ſaid overſeers, or the greater number of them, to make diviſion thereof, and then my wife to have the preferment of the choice.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my couſin Frances Gurney, alias Hulſe, my aunt's daughter, the ſum of five pounds, and I give unto the daughter of the ſaid Frances the like ſum of five pounds.

Item, I give, deviſe and bequeath unto ſuch and ſo many of the daughters of my couſin Gilder, late of New Buckenham in the county of Norfolk, deceaſed, as ſhall be living at the time of my deceaſe, the ſum of five pounds apiece.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my old ſervant Elizabeth Wheaton, a mourning gown and forty ſhillings in money, and that place or priviledge which ſhe now exerciſeth and enjoyeth in the houſes of the Blackfryers, London, and the Globe on the Bankſide, for and during all the term of her natural life, if my eſtate ſhall ſo long continue in the premiſes; and I give unto the daughter of the ſaid Elizabeth Wheaton the ſum of five pounds, to be paid unto the ſaid Elizabeth Wheaton, for the uſe of her ſaid daughter, within the ſpace of one year next after my deceaſe. And I do hereby will, appoint and declare, that an acquittance under

the hand and ſeal of the ſaid Elizabeth Wheaton, upon the receipt of the ſaid legacy of five pounds, for the uſe of her ſaid daughter, ſhall be, and ſhall be deemed, adjudged, conſtrued, and taken to be, both in law and in equity, unto my now executrix a ſufficient releaſe and diſcharge for and concerning the payment of the ſame.

Item, I give, deviſe, and bequeath, all the reſt and reſidue of my goods, chattels, leaſes, money, debts, and perſonal eſtate, whatſoever, and whereſoever, (after my debts ſhall be paid and my funeral charges and all other charges about the execution of this my will firſt paid and diſcharged) unto my ſaid well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall.

Item, My will and mind is, and I do hereby deſire and appoint, that all ſuch legacies, gifts and bequeſts as I have by this my will given, deviſed or bequeathed unto any perſon or perſons, for payment whereof no certain time is hereby before limited or appointed, ſhall be well and truly paid by my executrix within the ſpace of one year next after my deceaſe. Finally, I do hereby revoke, countermand, and make void, all former wills, teſtaments, codicils, executors, legacies, and bequeſts, whatſoever, by me at any time heretofore named, made, given, or appointed; willing and minding that theſe preſents only ſhall ſtand and be taken for my laſt will and teſtament, and none other. In witneſs whereof I the ſaid Henry Cundall, the teſtator, to this my preſent laſt will and teſtament, being written on nine ſheets of paper, with my name ſubſcribed to every ſheet, have ſet my ſeal, the thirteenth day of December, in the third year of the reign of our ſovereign lord Charles, by the grace of God king of England,

Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

HENRY CUNDALL.

Signed, ſealed, pronounced and declared, by the ſaid Henry Cundall, the teſtator, as his laſt will and teſtament, on the day and year above written, in the preſence of us whoſe names are here under written:

Robert Yonge.
Hum. Dyſon, Notary Publique.
And of me Ro. Dickens, ſervant unto the ſaid Notary.

Probatum fuit teſtamentum ſupraſcriptum apud Lond. coram magiſtro Richardo Zouche, legum doctore, Surrogato, 24° die Februarii, 1627, juramento Elizabethæ Cundall, relictæ dicti defuncti et executr. cui, &c. de bene, &c. jurat.

WILLIAM SLY

was joined with Shakſpeare, &c. in the licence granted in 1603.—He is introduced, perſonally, in the induction to Marſton's *Malecontent*, 1604, and from his there uſing an affected phraſe of Oſrick's in *Hamlet*, we may collect that he performed that part. He died before the year 1612.[a]

RICHARD COWLEY

appears to have been an actor of a low claſs, having performed the part of Verges in *Much Ado about Nothing*. He lived in the pariſh of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, and had two ſons baptized there;

[a] Heywood's *Apology for Actors*.

Cuthbert, born in 1597, and Richard, born in 1599. I know not when this actor died.

JOHN LOWIN

was a principal performer in theſe plays. If the date on his picture[3] in the Aſhmolean Muſeum at Oxford is accurate, he was born in 1576. Wright mentions in his *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica* that "before the wars he uſed to act the part of Falſtaff with mighty applauſe;" but without doubt he means during the reign of King Charles the Firſt, from 1625 to 1641. When our poet's *King Henry IV.* was firſt exhibited, Lowin was but twenty-one years old; it is therefore probable that Heminge, or ſome other actor, originally repreſented the fat knight, and that ſeveral years afterwards the part was reſigned to Lowin.

He is ſaid by Roberts the player to have alſo performed King Henry the Eighth and Hamlet; but with reſpect to the latter his account is certainly erroneous; for it appears from more ancient writers, that Joſeph Taylor was the original performer of that character.[4]

Lowin is introduced, in perſon, in the Induction to Marſton's *Malecontent*, printed in 1604; and he and Taylor are mentioned in a copy of verſes, written in the year 1632, ſoon after the appearance of Jonſon's *Magnetick Lady*, as the two moſt celebrated actors of that time:

> "Let *Lowin* ceaſe, and *Taylor* ſcorn to touch
> "The loathed ſtage, for thou haſt made it ſuch."

[3] This date, which the engraver of the annexed portrait [i. e. in Mr. Malone's edition, 1790.] has inadvertently omitted, is— "1640, Ætat. 64."

[4] *Hiſtr. Hiſtrion.* and *Roſcius Anglicanus.*

Beſide the parts already mentioned, this actor repreſented the following characters: Moroſe, in *The Silent Woman*;—Volpone, in *The Fox*;—Mammon, in *The Alchymiſt*;—Melantius, in *The Maid's Tragedy*;—Aubrey, in *The Bloody Brother*;—Boſola, in *The Dutcheſs of Malfy*;—Jacomo, in *The Deſerving Favourite*;—Eubulus, in Maſſinger's *Picture*;—Domitian, in *The Roman Actor*;—and Belleur, in *The Wild Gooſe Chace*.

Though Heminge and Condell continued to have an intereſt in the theatre to the time of their death, yet about the year 1623, I believe, they ceaſed to act; and that the management had in the next year devolved on Lowin and Taylor, is aſcertained by the following note made by Sir Henry Herbert in his office-book, under the year 1633.

" On friday the nineteenth of October,[5] 1633, I ſent a warrant by a meſſenger of the chamber to ſuppreſs *The Tamer Tamd*, to the Kings players, for that afternoone, and it was obeyd; upon complaints of foule and offenſive maters conteyned therein.

" They acted *The Scornful Lady* inſtead of it. I have enterd the warrant here.

' Theſe are to will and require you to forbeare the actinge of your play called *The Tamer Tamd, or the Taminge of the Tamer*, this afternoone, or any more till you have leave from mee; and this at your perill. On friday morninge the 18 Octob. 1633.

' To Mr. Taylor, Mr. Lowins, or any of the King's players at the Blackfryers.'

" On ſaterday morninge followinge the booke was brought mee, and at my Lord of Hollands

[5] So the MS. though afterwards Sir Henry Herbert calls it " friday the 18th."

requeſt I returned it to the players ye monday morninge after, purgd of oaths, prophaneſs, and ribaldrye, being ye 21 of Octob. 1633.

" Becauſe the ſtoppinge of the acting of this play for that afternoone, it being an ould play, hath rayſed ſome diſcourſe in the players, thogh no diſobedience, I have thought fitt to inſert here ther ſubmiſſion upon a former diſobedience, and to declare that it concernes the Maſter of the Revells to bee carefull of their ould revived playes, as of their new, ſince they may conteyne offenſive matter, which ought not to be allowed in any time.

" The Maſter ought to have copies of their new playes left with him, that he may be able to ſhew what he hath allowed or diſallowed.

" All ould plays ought to bee brought to the Maſter of the Revells, and have his allowance to them for which he ſhould have his fee, ſince they may be full of offenſive things againſt church and ſtate; ye rather that in former time the poetts tooke greater liberty than is allowed them by mee.

" The players ought not to ſtudy their parts till I have allowed of the booke.

' To Sir Henry Herbert, K.^t^ maſter of his Matie Revels.

' After our humble ſerviſe[6] remembred unto your good worſhip, Whereas not long ſince we acted a play called *The Spaniſhe Viceroy*, not being licenſed under your worſhips hande, nor allowd of: wee doe confeſs and herby acknowledge that wee have offended, and that it is in your power to puniſhe this offenſe, and are very ſorry for it; and doe likewiſe promiſe herby that wee will not act

[6] In the margin here Sir Henry Herbert has added this note: " 'Tis entered here for a remembrance againſt their diſordere."

any play without your hand or ſubſtituts hereafter, nor doe any thinge that may prejudice the authority of your office: So hoping that this humble ſubmiſſion of ours may bee accepted, wee have therunto ſett our hands. This twentiethe of Decemb. 1624.

Joſeph Taylor.	John Lowen.
Richard Robinſon.	John Shancke.
Elyard Swanſton.	John Rice.
Thomas Pollard.	Will. Rowley.
Robert Benfeilde.	Richard Sharpe.
George Burght.	

" Mr. Knight,

" In many things you have ſaved mee labour; yet wher your judgment or penn fayld you, I have made boulde to uſe mine. Purge ther parts, as I have the booke. And I hope every hearer and player will thinke that I have done God good ſerviſe, and the quality no wronge; who hath no greater enemies than oaths, prophaneſs, and publique ribaldry, wh^ch^ for the future I doe abſolutely forbid to bee preſented unto mee in any playbooke, as you will anſwer it at your perill. 21 Octob. 1633."

" This was ſubſcribed to their play of *The Tamer Tamd*, and directed to Knight, their book-keeper.

" The 24 Octob. 1633, Lowins and Swanſton were ſorry for their ill manners, and craved my pardon, which I gave them in preſence of Mr. Taylor and Mr. Benfeilde."

After the ſuppreſſion of the theatres, Lowin became very poor. In 1652, in conjunction with Joſeph Taylor, he publiſhed Fletcher's comedy called *The Wild Gooſe Chaſe*, for bread; and in his latter years he kept an inn (*The Three Pidgeons*) at

Brentford, in which town, Wright ſays, he died very old.[6] But that writer was miſtaken with reſpect to the place of his death, for he died in London at the age of eighty-three, and was buried in the ground belonging to the pariſh of St. Martin in the Fields, March 18, 1658-9. On the 8th of the following October adminiſtration of the goods of John Lowin was granted to Martha Lowin, I ſuppoſe the actor's widow. In the Regiſter of perſons buried in the pariſh of Brentford, which I carefully examined, no perſon of this name is mentioned between the years 1650, and 1660.

SAMUEL CROSS.

This actor was probably dead before the year 1600; for Heywood, who had himſelf written for the ſtage before that time, ſays he had never ſeen him.

ALEXANDER COOKE.

From *The Platt of the Seven deadly Sinns*, it appears, that this actor was on the ſtage before 1588, and was the ſtage-heroine. He acted ſome woman's part in Jonſon's *Sejanus*, and in *The Fox*; and we may preſume, performed all the principal female characters in our author's plays.

SAMUEL GILBURNE. Unknown.

ROBERT ARMIN.

performed in *The Alchemiſt* in 1610, and was alive in 1611, ſome verſes having been addreſſed to him in that year by John Davies of Hereford; from

[6] *Hiſtor. Hiſtrion.* p. 10.

which he appears to have occaſionally performed the part of the Fool or the Clown.[8]

He was author of a comedy called *The Two Maids of More-clacke* [*Mortlake* it ought to be.] 1609. I have alſo a book, called *A Neſt of Ninnies ſimply of themſelves, without compound*, by Robert Armin, publiſhed in 1608. And at Stationers' Hall was entered in the ſame year, "a book called *Phantaſm the Italian Taylor and his Boy*, made by Mr. Armin, ſervant to his majeſty."

Mr. Oldys, in his MS. notes on Langbaine, ſays, that "Armin was an apprentice at firſt to a gold-ſmith in Lombard-ſtreet." He adds, that "the means of his becoming a player is recorded in Tarleton's Jeſts, printed in 1611, where it appears, this 'prentice going often to a tavern in Grace-church-ſtreet, to dun the keeper thereof, who was a debtor to his maſter, *Tarleton*, who of the maſter of that tavern was now only a lodger in it, ſaw ſome verſes written by Armin on the wainſcot, upon his maſter's ſaid debtor, whoſe name was *Charles Tarleton*, and liked them ſo well, that he wrote others under them, prophecying, that as he was, ſo *Armin* ſhould be: therefore, calls him his adopted ſon, to wear the Clown's ſuit after him. And ſo it fell out, for the boy was ſo pleaſed with what Tarleton had written of him, ſo reſpected his perſon, ſo frequented his plays, and ſo learned his humour and manners, that from his private

8 "To honeſt, gameſome, *Robert Armine*,
"Who tickles the ſpleene like a harmleſs vermin."

"Armine, what ſhall I ſay of thee, but this,
"Thou art a *fool* and knave;—both?—fie, I miſs,
"And wrong thee much; ſith thou indeed art neither,
"Although in *ſhew* thou *playeſt* both together."

practice he came to publick playing his parts; that he was in good repute for the ſame at *the Globe* on the Bank-ſide, &c. all the former part of King James's reign."

WILLIAM OSTLER

had been one of the children of the Chapel; having acted in Jonſon's *Poetaſter*, together with Nat. Field, and John Underwood, in 1601, and is ſaid to have performed women's parts. In 1610 both he and Underwood acted as men in Ben Jonſon's *Alchemiſt*. In Davies's *Scourge of Folly*, there are ſome verſes addreſſed to him with this title: "To the *Roſcius* of theſe times, William Oſtler." He acted Antonio in Webſter's *Dutcheſs of Malfy*, in 1623. I know not when he died.

NATHANIEL FIELD.
JOHN UNDERWOOD.

Both theſe actors had been children of the Chapel;[9] and probably at the Globe and Blackfriars theatres performed female parts. Field, when he became too manly to repreſent the characters of women, played the part of *Buſſy d'Ambois* in Chapman's play of that name. From the preface prefixed to one edition of it, it appears that he was dead in 1641.

There is a good portrait of this performer in Dulwich College, in a very ſingular dreſs.

Fleckno, in his little tract on the Engliſh Stage, ſpeaks of him as an actor of great eminence. A perſon of this name was the author of two comedies,

[9] See *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601, in which they both acted.

called *A Woman's a Weathercock*, and *Amends for Ladies*, and aſſiſted Maſſinger in writing *The Fatal Dowry*, but he ſcarcely could have been the player; for the firſt of the comedies abovementioned was printed in 1612, at which time this actor muſt have been yet a youth, having performed as one of the Children of the Revels, in Jonſon's *Silent Woman*, in 1609.

The only intelligence I have obtained of John Underwood, beſide what I have already mentioned, is, that he performed the part of Delio in *The Dutcheſs of Malfy*, and that he died either in the latter end of the year 1624 or the beginning of the following year, having firſt made his will, of which the following is a copy:

" In the name of God, Amen. I John Underwood, of the pariſh of Saint Bartholomew the Leſs, in London, gent. being very weak and ſick in body, but, thanks be given to Almighty God, in perfect mind and memory, do make and declare my laſt will and teſtament, in manner and form following: viz. Firſt, I commend and commit my ſoul to Almighty God, and my body to the earth, to be buried at the diſcretion of my executors; and my worldly goods and eſtate which it hath pleaſed the Almighty God to bleſs me with, I will, bequeath, and diſpoſe as followeth; that is to ſay, to and amongſt my five children, namely, John Underwood, Elizabeth Underwood, Burbage Underwood, Thomas Underwood, and Iſabell Underwood, (my debts and other legacies herein named paid, and my funeral and other juſt dues and duties diſcharged) all and ſingular my goods, houſehold ſtuff, plate and other things whatſoever in or about my now dwelling

houſe, or elſewhere; and alſo all the right, title, or intereſt, part or ſhare, that I have and enjoy at this preſent by leaſe or otherwiſe, or ought to have, poſſeſs and enjoy in any manner or kind at this preſent or hereafter, within the Blackfryars, London, or in the company of his M^tie^s ſervants, my loving and kind fellows, in their houſe there, or at the Globe on the Bankſide; and alſo that my part and ſhare or due in or out of the playhouſe called the Curtaine, ſituate in or near Holloway in the pariſh of St. Leonard, London, or in any other place; to my ſaid five children, equally and proportionably to be divided amongſt them at their ſeveral ages of one and twenty years; and during their and every of their minorities, for and towards their education, maintenance, and placing in the world, according to the diſcretion, direction, and care which I repoſe in my executors. Provided always and my true intent and meaning is, that my ſaid executors ſhall not alienate, change or alter by ſale or otherwiſe, directly or indirectly, any my part or ſhare which I now have or ought to hold, have, poſſeſs, and enjoy in the ſaid playhouſes called the Blackfryars, the Globe on the Bancke-ſide, and Curtaine aforementioned, or any of them, but that the increaſe and benefit out and from the ſame and every of them ſhall come, accrue and ariſe to my ſaid executors, as now it is to me, to the uſe of my ſaid children, equally to be divided amongſt them. Provided alſo that if the uſe and increaſe of my ſaid eſtate given (as aforeſaid) to my ſaid children, ſhall prove inſufficient or defective, in reſpect of the young years of my children, for their education and placing of them as my ſaid executors ſhall think meet, then my will and true meaning is, that when the eldeſt of my ſaid children ſhall attain to the age of

one and twenty years, my ſaid executors ſhall pay or cauſe to be paid unto him or her ſo ſurviving or attaining, his or her equal ſhare of my eſtate ſo remaining undiſburſed or undiſpoſed for the uſes aforeſaid in their or either of their hands, and ſo for every or any of my ſaid children attaining to the age aforeſaid: yet if it ſhall appear or ſeem fit at the completion of my ſaid children every or any of them at their ſaid full age or ages, which ſhall firſt happen, my eſtate remaining not to be equally ſhared or diſpoſed amongſt the reſt ſurviving in minority, then my will is, that it ſhall be left to my executors to give unto my child ſo attaining the age as they ſhall judge will be equal to the reſt ſurviving and accompliſhing the aforeſaid age; and if any of them ſhall die or depart this life before they accompliſh the ſaid age or ages, I will and bequeath their part, ſhare or portion to them, him or her ſurviving, at the ages aforeſaid, equally to be divided by my executors as aforeſaid. And I do hereby nominate and appoint my loving friends (in whom I repoſe my truſt for performance of the premiſes) Henry Cundell, Thomas Sanford, and Thomas Smith, gentlemen, my executors of this my laſt will and teſtament; and do intreat my loving friends, Mr. John Heminge, and John Lowyn, my fellowes, overſeers of the ſame my laſt will and teſtament: and I give to my ſaid executors and overſeers for their pains (which I entreat them to accept) the ſum of eleven ſhillings apiece to buy them rings, to wear in remembrance of me. In witneſs whereof I have hereunto ſet my hand and ſeal the fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſix hundred twenty four.

JOHN UNDERWOOD.

A Codicil to be annexed to the laſt will and teſtament of John Underwood, late of the pariſh of Little St. Bartholomew, London, deceaſed, made the tenth day of the month of October, Anno Domini one thouſand ſix hundred twenty four or thereabouts, viz. his intent and meaning was, and ſo he did will, diſpoſe, and bequeath (if his eſtate would thereunto extend, and it ſhould ſeem convenient to his executors,) theſe particulars following in manner and form following: *ſcilt.* to his daughter Elizabeth two ſeal rings of gold, one with a death's head, the other with a red ſtone in it. To his ſon John Underwood a ſeal ring of gold with an A and a B in it. To Burbage Underwood a ſeal ring with a blue ſtone in it. To Iſabell one hoop ring of gold. To his ſaid ſon John one hoop ring of gold. To his ſaid daughter Elizabeth one wedding ring. To his ſaid ſon Burbage one hoop ring, black and gold. To his ſaid ſon Thomas one hoop ring of gold, and one gold ring with a knot. To his ſaid daughter Iſabell one blue ſaphire and one joint ring of gold. To John Underwood one half dozen of ſilver ſpoons and one gilt ſpoon. To Elizabeth one ſilver ſpoon and three gilt ſpoons. To Burbage Underwood, his ſon aforenamed, one great gilt ſpoon, one plain bowl and one rough bowl. To Thomas Underwood his ſon, one ſilver porrenger, one ſilver taſter, and one gilt ſpoon. To Iſabell his ſaid daughter, three ſilver ſpoons, two gilt ſpoons, and one gilt cup. Which was ſo had and done before ſufficient and credible witneſs, the ſaid teſtator being of perfect mind and memory.

Probatum fuit teſtamentum ſupraſcriptum una cum codicillo eidem annex. apud London, coram judice, primo die menſis Februarii, Anno Domini 1624, *juramento Henrici Cundell, unius*

executor. cui, &c. de bene, &c. jurat, reſervata poteſtate ſimilem commiſſionem faciendi Thome Sandford et Thome Smith, executoribus etiam in hujuſmodi teſtamento nominat. cum venerint eam petitur.

NICHOLAS TOOLEY

acted Foroboſco in *The Dutcheſs of Malfy*. From the *Platt of the Seven deadly Sinns*, it appears, that he ſometimes repreſented female characters. He performed in *The Alchemiſt* in 1610.

WILLIAM ECCLESTONE.

This performer's name occurs for the firſt time in Ben Jonſon's *Alchemiſt*, 1610. No other ancient piece (that I have ſeen) contains any memorial of this actor.

JOSEPH TAYLOR

appears from ſome verſes already cited, to have been a celebrated actor. According to Downes the prompter, he was inſtructed by Shakſpeare to play Hamlet; and Wright in his *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, ſays, "He performed that part incomparably well." From the remembrance of his performance of Hamlet, Sir William D'Avenant is ſaid to have conveyed his inſtructions to Mr. Betterton. Taylor likewiſe played Iago. He alſo performed True-wit in *The Silent Woman*, Face in *The Alchymiſt*,[2] and Moſca in *Volpone*; but not originally.[3] He

[2] *Hiſt. Hiſtrion.*

[3] Taylor's name does not occur in the liſt of actors printed by Jonſon at the end of *Volpone*.

repreſented Ferdinand in *The Dutcheſs of Malfy*, after the death of Burbadge. He acted Mathias in *The Picture*, by Maſſinger; Paris in *The Roman Actor*; the Duke in Carlell's *Deſerving Favourite*; Rollo in *The Bloody Brother*; and Mirabel in *The Wild Gooſe Chaſe*. There are verſes by this performer prefixed to Maſſinger's *Roman Actor*, 1629.

In the year 1614, Taylor appears to have been at the head of a diſtinct company of comedians, who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *The Lady Elizabeth's Servants*.[4] However, he afterwards returned to his old friends; and after the death of Burbadge, Heminge and Condell, he in conjunction with John Lowin and Eliard Swanſton had the principal management of the king's company. In Sept. 1639 he was appointed Yeoman of the Revels in ordinary to his Majeſty, in the room of Mr. William Hunt. There were certain perquiſites annexed to this office, and a ſalary of ſixpence a day. When he was in attendance on the king he had 3l. 6s. 8d. *per* month.

I find from Fleckno's *Characters*, that Taylor died either in the year 1653 or in the following year:[5] and according to Wright he was buried at Richmond. The Regiſter of that pariſh antecedent to the Reſtoration, being loſt, I am unable to aſcertain that fact. He was probably near ſeventy years of age at the time of his death.

[4] MS. Vertue.

[5] "He is one, who now the ſtage is down, acts the paraſite's part at table; and, ſince *Taylor's death*, none can play Moſca ſo well as he." *Character of one who imitates the good Companion another Way*. In the edition of Fleckno's Characters, printed in 1665, he ſays, "*this* character was written in 1654." Taylor was alive in 1652, having publiſhed *The Wild Gooſe Chace* in that year.

He is ſaid by ſome to have painted the only original picture of Shakſpeare now extant, in the poſſeſſion of the duke of Chandos. By others, with more probability, Richard Burbadge is reported to have been the painter: for among the pictures in Dulwich college is one, which, in the catalogue made in the time of Charles the Second by Cartwright the player, is ſaid to have been painted by Burbadge.

ROBERT BENFIELD

appears to have been a ſecond-rate actor. He performed Antonio in *The Dutcheſs of Malfy*, after the death of Oſtler. He alſo acted the part of the King in *The Deſerving Favourite*; Ladiſlaus in *The Picture*; Junius Ruſticus in *The Roman Actor*; and De-gard in *The Wild Gooſe Chaſe*.

He was alive in 1647, being one of the players who ſigned the dedication to the folio edition of Fletcher's plays, publiſhed in that year.

ROBERT GOUGHE.

This actor at an early period performed female characters, and was, I ſuppoſe, the father of *Alexander Goughe*, who in this particular followed Robert's ſteps. In *The Seven deadly Sins*, Robert Goughe played Aſpatia; but in the year 1611 he had arrived at an age which entitled him to repreſent male characters; for in *The Second Maiden's Tragedie*,[6] which was produced in that year, he performed the part of the uſurping tyrant.

[6] MS. in the collection of the Marquis of Lanſdown. See p. 196, n. 6.

RICHARD ROBINSON.

is ſaid by Wright to have been a comedian. He acted in Jonſon's *Catiline* in 1611; and, it ſhould ſeem from a paſſage in *The Devil is an Aſs*, [Act II. ſc. viii.] 1616, that at that time he uſually repreſented female characters. In *The Second Maidens Tragedie*, he repreſented the *Lady of Govianus*. I have not learned what parts in our author's plays were performed by this actor. In *The Deſerving Favourite*, 1629, he played Orſinio; and in *The Wild Gooſe Chaſe*, Le-Caſtre. In Maſſinger's *Roman Actor*, he performed Æſopus; and in *The Dutcheſs of Malfy*, after the retirement of Condell, he played the Cardinal. Hart, the celebrated actor, was originally his boy or apprentice. Robinſon was alive in 1647, his name being ſigned, with ſeveral others, to the dedication prefixed to the firſt folio edition of Fletcher's plays. In the civil wars he ſerved in the king's army, and was killed in an engagement, by Harriſon, who was afterwards hanged at Charing-croſs. Harriſon refuſed him quarter, after he had laid down his arms, and ſhot him in the head, ſaying at the ſame time, "Curſed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently."[1]

JOHN SHANCKE

was, according to Wright, a comedian. He was but in a low claſs, having performed the part of the Curate in Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, and that of Hillario (a ſervant) in *The Wild Gooſe Chaſe*. He was a dramatick author as well as an actor, having

[1] *Hiſt. Hiſtrion.* p. 8.

produced a comedy entitled *Shanke's Ordinary*, which was acted at Blackfriars in the year 1623-4.[8]

JOHN RICE.

The only information I have met with concerning this player, is, that he repreſented the Marquis of Peſcara, an inconſiderable part in Webſter's *Dutcheſs of Malfy*. He was perhaps brother to Stephen Rice, clerk, who is mentioned in the will of John Heminge.

The foregoing liſt is ſaid in the firſt folio to contain the names of the *principal* actors in theſe plays.

Beſide theſe, we know that *John Wilſon* played an inſignificant part in *Much Ado about Nothing*.

Gabriel was likewiſe an inferior actor in theſe plays, as appears from *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* p. 150, edit. 1623, where we find—"Enter *Gabriel*." In the correſponding place in the old play entitled *The True Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke*, &c. we have—"Enter a *Meſſenger*." Sinkler or Sinclo, and Humphrey,[9] were likewiſe players in the ſame theatre, and of the ſame claſs. William Barkſted,[2] John Duke, and Chriſtopher Beeſton,[3] alſo belonged to this company. The latter from the year 1624 to 1638, when he died, was manager of the Cockpit theatre in Drury-lane.

[8] "For the kings company. *Shankes Ordinarie*, written by Shankes himſelfe, this 16 March, 1623,—£. 1. 0. 0." MS. Herbert.

[9] In *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* p. 158, firſt folio, the following ſtage-direction is found: "Enter *Sinklo* and Humphrey." In the old play in quarto, entitled *The true Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke*, "Enter *two Keepers*."

[2] He was one of the children of the Revels. See the *Dramatis Perſonæ* of Ben Jonſon's *Silent Woman*.

[3] *Dramatis Perſonæ* of *Every Man in his Humour*.

In a book of the laſt age of no great authority, we are told that " the infamous *Hugh Peters*, after he had been expelled from the Univerſity of Cambridge, went to London, and enrolled himſelf as a player in Shakſpeare's company, in which he uſually performed the part of the Clown." Hugh Peter (for that was his name, not *Peters*, as he was vulgarly called by his contemporaries,) was born at Fowey or Foye in Cornwall in 1599, and was entered of Trinity College, in Cambridge, in the year 1613. In 1617 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and that of Maſter of Arts in 1622. On the 23d of December 1621, as I find from the Regiſtry of the Biſhop of London, he was ordained a deacon, by Dr. Mountaine then biſhop of that ſee; and on June 8, 1623, he was ordained a prieſt. During his reſidence at Trinity College he behaved ſo improperly, that he was once publickly whipped for his inſolence and contumacy;[4] but I do not find that he was expelled. It is, however, not improbable that he was ruſticated for a time, for ſome miſconduct; and perhaps in that interval, inſtead of retiring to his parent's houſe in Cornwall, his reſtleſs ſpirit carried him to London, and induced him to tread the ſtage. If this was the caſe, it probably happened about the time of our author's death, when Hugh Peter was about eighteen years old.

Langbaine was undoubtedly miſtaken in ſuppoſing that Edward Alleyn was " an ornament to Blackfriars." Wright, who was much better acquainted with the ancient ſtage, ſays, " he never heard that Alleyn acted there:" and the liſt in the firſt folio edition of our author's plays proves deciſively that he was not of his company; for ſo

[4] Warton's Milton, p. 432.

celebrated a performer could not have been overlooked, when that liſt was forming. So early as in 1593, we find "Ned Alleyn's company mentioned."[5] Alleyn was ſole proprietor and manager of the Fortune theatre, in which he performed from 1599 (and perhaps before) till 1616, when, I believe, he quitted the ſtage. He was ſervant to the Lord Admiral (Nottingham): all the old plays therefore which are ſaid to have been performed by *the Lord Admiral's Servants*, were repreſented at the Fortune by Alleyn's company.[6]

[5] P. 342, n. 5.

[6] In a former edition I had ſaid, on the authority of Mr. Oldys, that "Edward Alleyn, the player, mentions in his *Diary*, that he once had ſo ſlender an audience in his theatre called the *Fortune*, that the whole receipt of the houſe amounted to no more than three pounds and ſome odd ſhillings." But I have ſince ſeen Alleyn's *Diary*, (which was then miſlaid,) and find Mr. Oldys was miſtaken. The memorandum on which the intelligence conveyed by the Librarian of Dulwich College to that Antiquary, was founded, is as follows: "Oct. 1617. I went to the Red Bull, and rd. for *The Younger Brother* but £.3. 6. 4."

It appears from one of Lord Bacon's Letters that Alleyn had in 1618 left the ſtage. "Allen that *was* the player," he calls him. The money therefore which he mentions to have received for the play of *The Younger Brother*, muſt have been the produce of the ſecond day's repreſentation, in conſequence of his having ſold the property of that piece to the ſharers in the Red Bull theatre, or being in ſome other way entitled to a benefit from it. Alleyn's own play-houſe, the Fortune, was then open, but I imagine, he had ſold off his property in it to a kinſman, one Thomas Allen, an actor likewiſe. In his Diary he frequently mentions his going from Dulwich to London after dinner, and ſupping with him and ſome of "*the Fortune's men.*" From this MS. I expected to have learned ſeveral particulars relative to our ancient ſtage; but unluckily the Diary does not commence till the year 1617, (at which time he had retired to his College, at Dulwich,) and contains no theatrical intelligence whatſoever, except the article already quoted.

THE hiſtory of the ſtage as far as it relates to Shakſpeare, naturally divides itſelf into three periods: the period which preceded his appearance as an actor or dramatick writer; that during which he flouriſhed; and the time which has elapſed ſince his death. Having now gone through the two former of theſe periods, I ſhall take a tranſient view of the ſtage from the death of our great poet to the year 1741, ſtill with a view to Shakſpeare, and his works.

Soon after his death, four of the principal companies then ſubſiſting, made a union, and were afterwards called *The United Companies*; but I know not preciſely in what this union conſiſted. I ſuſpect it aroſe from a penury of actors, and that the managers contracted to permit the performers in each houſe occaſionally to aſſiſt their brethren in the other theatres in the repreſentation of plays. We have already ſeen that John Heminge in 1618 pay'd Sir George Buck, "*in the name of the four companys*, for a lenten diſpenſation in the holydaies, 44s.;" and Sir Henry Herbert obſerves that the play called *Come ſee a Wonder*, "written by John Daye for a company of ſtrangers," and repreſented Sept. 18, 1623, was "acted at the Red Bull, and licenſed without his hand to it, becauſe they [i. e. this company of ſtrangers] were none of the *four companys*." The old comedy entitled *Amends for Ladies*, as appears from its title-page, was acted at *Blackfriars* before the year 1618, "both by the *Prince's ſervants and Lady Elizabeth's*," though the theatre at Blackfriars then belonged to the king's ſervants.

After the death of Shakſpeare, the plays of Fletcher appear for ſeveral years to have been more admired, or at leaſt to have been more fre-

quently acted, than thoſe of our poet. During the latter part of the reign of James the Firſt, Fletcher's pieces had the advantage of novelty to recommend them. I believe, between the time of Beaumont's death in 1615 and his own in 1625, this poet produced at leaſt twenty-five plays. Sir Aſton Cokain has informed us, in his poems, that of the thirty-five pieces improperly aſcribed to Beaumont and Fletcher in the folio edition of 1647, much the greater part were written after Beaumont's death;[7] and his account is partly confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript, from which it appears that Fletcher produced eleven new plays in the laſt four years of his life. If we were poſſeſſed of the Regiſter kept by Sir George Buck, we ſhould there, I make no doubt, find near twenty dramas written by the ſame author in the interval between 1615 and 1622. As, to aſcertain the ſhare which each of theſe writers had in the works which have erroneouſly gone under their joint names, has long been a *deſideratum* in dramatick hiſtory, I ſhall here ſet down as perfect a liſt as I have been able to form of the pieces produced by Fletcher in his latter years.

[7] ——————For what a foul
" And inexcuſable fault it is, (*that whole*
" *Volume of plays being almoſt every one*
" *After the death of Beaumont writ,*) that none
" Would certifie them ſo much?"
Verſes addreſſed by Sir Aſton Cokain to Mr. Charles Cotton.

See alſo his verſes addreſſed to Mr. Humphry Moſeley and Mr. Humphry Robinſon:

" In the large book of playes you late did print
" In Beaumont and in Fletcher's name, why in't
" Did you not juſtice? give to each his due?
" For Beaumont of thoſe many writ in few;
" And Maſſinger in other few; *the main*
" Being ſole iſſues of ſweet Fletcher's brain."

The Honeſt Man's Fortune, though it appeared firſt in the folio 1647, was one of the few pieces in that collection, which was the joint production of Beaumont and Fletcher. It was firſt performed at the Globe theatre in the year 1613, two years before the death of Beaumont.[8]

The Loyal Subject was the ſole production of Fletcher, and was firſt repreſented in the year 1618.

It appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript, that the new plays which Fletcher had brought out in the courſe of the year, were generally preſented at court at Chriſtmas. As therefore *The Iſland Princeſs*, *The Pilgrim*, and *The Wild Gooſe Chaſe* are found among the court exhibitions of the year 1621, we need not heſitate to aſcribe theſe pieces alſo to the ſame poet. *The Wild Gooſe Chaſe*, though abſurdly printed under the joint names of Beaumont and Fletcher, is expreſsly aſcribed to the latter by Lowin and Taylor, the actors who publiſhed it in 1652. *The Beggar's Buſh*, being alſo acted at court in 1622, was probably written by Fletcher. *The Tamer tamed* is expreſsly call'd his by Sir Henry Herbert, as is *The Mad Lover* by Sir Aſton Cockain: and it appears from the manuſcript ſo often quoted that *The Night-Walker* and *Love's Pilgrimage*, having been left imperfect by Fletcher, were corrected and finiſhed by Shirley.

I have now given an account of nine of the pieces in which Beaumont appears to have had no ſhare; and ſubjoin a liſt of eleven other plays written by Fletcher, (with the aſſiſtance of Rowley in one only,) preciſely in the order in which they were licenſed by the Maſter of the Revels.

[8] A Manuſcript copy of this play is now before me, marked 1613.

1622. May 14, he produced a new play called *The Propheteſs.*

June 22, *The Sea Voyage.* This piece was acted at the Globe.

October 24, *The Spaniſh Curate.* Acted at Blackfriars.

1623. Auguſt 29, *The Maid of the Mill,* written by Fletcher and Rowley; acted at the Globe.

October 17, *The Devill of Dowgate, or Uſury put to uſe.* Acted by the king's ſervants. This piece is loſt.

Decemb. 6. *The Wandering Lovers;* acted at Blackfriars. This piece is alſo loſt.

1624. May 27, *A Wife for a Month.* Acted by the King's ſervants.

Octob. 19. *Rule a Wife and have a Wife.*

1625-6. January 22. *The Fair Maid of the Inn.* Acted at Blackfriars.

Feb. 3. *The Noble Gentleman.* Acted at the ſame theatre.

In a former page an account has been given of the court-exhibitions in 1622. In Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book I find the following "Note of ſuch playes as were acted at court in 1623 and 1624," which confirms what I have ſuggeſted, that the plays of Shakſpeare were then not ſo much admired as thoſe of the poets of the day.

"Upon Michelmas night att Hampton court, *The Mayd of the Mill* by the K. Company.

"Upon Allhollows night at St. James, the prince being there only, *The Mayd of the Mill* againe, with reformations.

"Upon the fifth of November att Whitehall, the prince being there only, *The Gipſye,* by the Cockpitt company.

"Upon St. Stevens daye, the king and prince

being there, *The Mayd of the Mill* by the K. company. Att Whitehall.

" Upon St. John's night, the prince only being there, *The Bondman* by the queene [of Bohemia's] company. Att Whitehall.

" Upon Innocents night, falling out upon a Sonday, *The Buck is a theif*, the king and prince being there. By the kings company. At Whitehall.

" Upon New-years night, by the K. company, *The Wandering Lovers*, the prince only being there. Att Whitehall.

" Upon the Sonday after, beinge the 4 of January 1623, by the Queene of Bohemias company, *The Changelinge*; the prince only being there. Att Whitehall.

" Upon Twelfe Night, the maſke being put off, *More diſſemblers beſides Women*,[9] by the kings company, the prince only being there. Att Whitehall.

" To the Ducheſs of Richmond, in the kings abſence, was given *The Winters Tale*, by the K. company, the 18 Janu. 1623. Att Whitehall.

" Upon All-hollows night, 1624, the king beinge at Roiſton, no play.

" The night after, my Lord Chamberlin had *Rule a wife and have a wife* for the ladys, by the kings company.

" Upon St. Steevens night, the prince only being there, [was acted] *Rule a wife and have a wife*, by the kings company. Att Whitehall.

" Upon St. John's night, [the prince] and the duke of Brunſwick being there, *The Fox*, by the ———. At Whitehall.

" Upon Innocents night, the [prince] and the duke of Brunſwyck being there, *Cupids Revenge*,

[9] " The worſt play that ere I ſaw," ſays the writer in a marginal note.

by the Queen of Bohemia's Servants. Att Whitehall. 1624.

" Upon New-years night, the prince only being there, The firſt part of *Sir John Falſtaff*, by the king's company. Att Whitehall, 1624.

" Upon Twelve night, the Maſque being putt of, and the prince only there, *Tu Quoque*, by the Queene of Bohemias ſervants. Att Whitehall, 1624.

" Upon the Sonday night following, being the ninthe of January, 1624, the Maſque was performd.

" On Candlemas night the 2 February, no play, the king being att Newmarket."

From the time when Sir Henry Herbert came into the office of the Revels to 1642, when the theatres were ſhut up, his Manuſcript does not furniſh us with a regular account of the plays exhibited at court every year. Such, however, as he has given, I ſhall now ſubjoin, together with a few anecdotes which he has preſerved, relative to ſome of the works of our poet and the dramatick writers who immediately ſucceeded him.

" For the king's players. An olde playe called *Winters Tale*, formerly allowed of by Sir George Bucke, and likewyſe by mee on Mr. Hemmings his worde that there was nothing prophane added or reformed, thogh the allowed booke was miſſinge; and therefore I returned it without a fee, this 19 of Auguſt, 1623.

" For the king's company. *The Hiſtorye of Heury the Firſt*,[a] written by Damport [Davenport]; this 10 April, 1624,—£.1. 0. 0.

[a] This play in a late entry on the Stationers' books was aſcribed by a fraudulent bookſeller to Shakſpeare.

" For the king's company. An olde play called *The Honeſt Mans Fortune*, the originall being loſt, was re-allowed by mee at Mr. Taylor's intreaty, and on condition to give mee a booke [*The Arcadia*], this 8 Februa. 1624."

The manuſcript copy of *The Honeſt Man's Fortune* is now before me, and is dated 1613. It was therefore probably the joint production of Beaumont and Fletcher. This piece was acted at the Globe, and the copy which had been licenſed by Sir George Buc, was without doubt deſtroyed by the fire which conſumed that theatre in the year 1613. The allowed copy of *The Winter's Tale* was probably deſtroyed at the ſame time.

" 17 July, 1626. [Received] from Mr. Hemmings for a courteſie done him about their Blackfriers hous,—£. 3. 0. 0.

" [Received] from Mr. Hemming, in their company's name, to forbid the playing of Shakeſpeare's plays, to the Red Bull Company, this 11 of Aprill, 1627,—£. 5. 0. 0.

" This day, being the 11 of Janu. 1630, I did refuſe to allow of a play of Meſſinger's,[3] becauſe

[3] Maſſinger's *Duke of Millaine* and *Virgin Martyr* were printed in 1623. It appears from the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert that his other plays were produced in the following order:

The Bondman, Dec. 3, 1623. Acted at the Cockpit in Drury Lane.

The Renegado, or the Gentleman of Venice, April 17, 1624. Acted at the Cockpitt.

The Parliament of Love, Nov. 3, 1624. Acted at the Cockpit. Of this play the laſt four acts are yet extant in manuſcript.

The Spaniſh Viceroy, acted in 1624. This play is loſt.

The Roman Actor, October 11, 1626. Acted by the king's company.

The Judge, June 6, 1627. Acted by the king's company. This play is loſt.

The Great Duke was licenſed for the Queen's Servants, July 5,

itt did contain dangerous matter, as the depoſing of Sebaſtian king of Portugal, by Philip the [Second,] and ther being a peace ſworen twixte the

1627. This was, I apprehend, *The Great Duke of Florence*, which was acted by that company.

The Honour of Women was licenſed May 6, 1628. I ſuſpect that this was the original name of *The Maid of Honour*, which was printed in 1631, though not entered for the ſtage in Sir Henry Herbert's book.

The Picture, June 8, 1629. Acted by the king's company.

Minerva's Sacrifice, Nov. 3, 1629. Acted by the king's company. This play is loſt.

The Emperor of the Eaſt, March 11, 1630-31. Acted by the king's company.

Believe as you liſt, May 7, 1631. Acted by the king's company. This play is loſt.

The Unfortunate Piety, June 13, 1631. Acted by the king's company. This play is loſt.

The Fatal Dowry does not appear to have been licenſed for the ſtage under that title, but was printed in 1632. It was acted by the king's company.

The City Madam, May 25, 1632. Acted by the king's company.

A new Way to pay old Debts does not appear to have been licenſed for the ſtage, but was printed in Nov. 1632.

The Guardian was licenſed, Octob. 31, 1633. Acted by the king's company.

The Tragedy of Cleander, May 7, 1634. Acted by the king's company. This play is loſt.

A Very Woman, June 6, 1634. Acted by the king's company.

The Orator, Jan. 10, 1634-5. Acted by the king's company. This play is loſt.

The Baſhful Lover, May 9, 1636. Acted by the king's company.

The King and the Subject, June 5, 1638. Acted by the ſame company. This title, Sir Henry Herbert ſays, was changed. I ſuſpect it was new named *The Tyrant*. The play is loſt.

Alexius, or the Chaſte Lover, Sept. 25, 1639. Acted by the king's company.

The Fair Anchoreſs of Pauſilippo, Jan. 26, 1639-40. Acted by the king's company.

Several other pieces by this author were formerly in poſſeſſion of John Warburton, Eſq. Somerſet Herald, but I know not when they were written. Their titles are, *Antonio and Vallia*, *The Woman's Plot*, *Philenzo and Hippolita*, *Taſte and Welcome*.

kings of England and Spayne. I had my fee notwithſtandinge, which belongs to me for reading itt over, and ought to be brought always with the booke.

"Received of Knight,[4] for allowing of Ben Johnſons play called *Humours reconcil'd, or the Magnetick Lady*, to bee acted, this 12th of Octob. 1632, £.2. 0. 0.

"18 Nov. 1632. In the play of *The Ball*, written by Sherley,[5] and acted by the Queens players,

[4] The book-keeper of Blackfriars' playhouſe. The date of this piece of Ben Jonſon has hitherto been unaſcertained. Immediately after this entry is another, which accounts for the defect of ſeveral leaves in the edition of Lord Brooke's Poems, 1633: "Received from Henry Seyle for allowinge a booke of verſes of my lord Brooks, entitled *Religion*, Humane Learning, Warr, and Honor, this 17 of October 1632, in mony, £.1. 0. 0: in books to the value of £.1. 4. 0."—In all the publiſhed copies twenty leaves on the ſubject of Religion, are wanting, having been cancelled, probably by the order of Archbiſhop Laud.

The ſubſequent entry aſcertains the date of Cowley's earlieſt production:

"More of Seyle, for allowinge of two other ſmall peeces of verſes for the preſs, done by a boy of this town called Cowley, at the ſame time, £.0. 10. 0."

[5] Such of the plays of Shirley as were regiſtered by Sir Henry Herbert, were licenſed in the following order:

Love Tricks, with Complements, Feb. 10, 1624-5.
Mayds Revenge, Feb. 9, 1625-6.
The Brothers, Nov. 4, 1626.
The Witty fair One, Octob. 3, 1628.
The Faithful Servant, Nov. 3, 1629.
The Traytor, May 4, 1631.
The Duke, May 17, 1631.
Loves Cruelty, Nov. 14, 1631.
The Changes, Jan. 10, 1631-2.
Hyde Park, April 20, 1632.
The Ball, Nov. 16, 1632.
The Beauties, Jan. 21, 1632-3.
The Young Admiral, July 3, 1633.
The Gameſter, Nov. 11, 1633.
The Example, June 24, 1634.

ther were divers perſonated ſo naturally, both of lords and others of the court, that I took it ill, and would have forbidden the play, but that Biſton [Chriſtopher Beeſton] promiſte many things which I found faulte withall ſhould be left out, and that he would not ſuffer it to be done by the poett any more, who deſerves to be puniſht; and the firſt that offends in this kind, of poets or players, ſhall be ſure of publique puniſhment.

" R. for allowinge of *The Tale of the Tubb*, Vitru Hoop's parte wholly ſtrucke out, and the motion of the tubb, by commande from my lord chamberlin; exceptions being taken againſt it by Inigo Jones, ſurveyor of the kings workes, as a perſonal injury unto him. May 7, 1633,—£.2. 0. 0."

In this piece, of which the preciſe date was hitherto unknown, *Vitru Hoop*, i. e. *Vitruvius* Hoop, undoubtedly was intended to repreſent Inigo Jones.

" The comedy called *The Yonge Admirall*, being free from oaths, prophaneſs, or obſceanes, hath given mee much delight and ſatisfaction in the readinge, and may ſerve for a patterne to other poetts, not only for the bettring of maners and language, but for the improvement of the quality, which hath received ſome bruſhings of late.

" When Mr. Sherley hath read this approbation,

The Opportunity, Nov. 29, 1634.
The Coronation, Feb. 6, 1634-5.
Chabot, Admiral of France, April 29, 1635.
The Lady of Pleaſure, Octob. 15, 1635.
The Dukes Miſtreſs, Jan. 18, 1635-6.
The Royal Maſter, April 23, 1638.
The Gentleman of Veniſe, 30 Octob. 1639.
Roſania, 1 June, 1640.
The Impoſtor, Nov. 10, 1640.
The Politique Father, May 26, 1641.
The Cardinall, Nov. 25, 1641.
The Siſters, April 26, 1642.

I know it will encourage him to purſue this beneficial and cleanly way of poetry, and when other poetts heare and ſee his good ſucceſs, I am confident they will imitate the original for their own credit, and make ſuch copies in this harmleſs way, as ſhall ſpeak them maſters in their art, at the firſt ſight, to all judicious ſpectators. It may be acted this 3 July, 1633.

" I have entered this allowance, for direction to my ſucceſſor, and for example to all poetts, that ſhall write after the date hereof.

" Received of Biſton, for an ould play called *Hymens Holliday*, newly revived at their houſe, being a play given unto him for my uſe, this 15 Aug. 1633, £.3. 0. 0. Received of him for ſome alterations in it, £.1. 0. 0.

" Meetinge with him at the ould exchange, he gave my wife a payre of gloves, that coſt him at leaſt twenty ſhillings.

" Upon a ſecond petition of the players to the High Commiſſion court, wherein they did mee right in my care to purge their plays of all offenſe, my lords Grace of Canterbury beſtowed many words upon mee, and diſcharged mee of any blame, and layd the whole fault of their play called *The Magnetick Lady*, upon the players. This happened the 24 of Octob. 1633, at Lambeth. In their firſt petition they would have excuſed themſelves on mee and the poett."

" On Saterday the 17th of Novemb.[6] being the Queens birth day, *Richarde the Thirde* was acted by the K. players at St. James, wher the king and queene were preſent, it being the firſt play the

[6] This is a miſtake. It ſhould be the 16th of November. She was born Nov. 16, 1609.

queene ſawe ſince her M.ty's delivery of the Duke of York. 1633.

" On tuſday the 19th of November, being the king's birth-day, *The Yong Admirall* was acted at St. James by the queen's players, and likt by the K. and Queen.

" The Kings players ſent mee an ould booke of Fletchers called *The Loyal Subject*, formerly allowed by Sir George Bucke, 16 Novemb. 1618, which according to their deſire and agreement I did peruſe, and with ſome reformations allowed of, the 23 of Nov. 1633, for which they ſent mee according to their promiſe £.1. 0. 0.[7]

" On tuſday night at Saint James, the 26 of Novemb. 1633, was acted before the King and Queene, *The Taminge of the Shrew*. Likt.

" On thurſday night at St. James, the 28 of Novemb. 1633, was acted before the King and Queene, *The Tamer Tamd*, made by Fletcher. Very well likt.

" On tuſday night at Whitehall the 10 of Decemb. 1633, was acted before the King and Queen, *The Loyal Subject*, made by Fletcher, and very well likt by the king.

" On Monday night the 16 of December, 1633, at Whitehall was acted before the King and Queen, *Hymens Holliday or Cupids Fegarys*, an ould play of Rowleys. Likte.

" On Wenſday night the firſt of January, 1633, *Cymbeline* was acted at Court by the Kings players. Well likte by the kinge.

" On Monday night the ſixth of January and the Twelfe Night, was preſented at Denmark-houſe, before the King and Queene, Fletchers paſtorall

[7] In the margin the writer adds—" The firſt ould play ſent mee to be peruſed by the K. players."

called *The Faithfull Shepheardeſſe*, in the clothes the Queene had given Taylor the yeare before of her owne paſtorall.

" The ſcenes were fitted to the paſtorall, and made, by Mr. Inigo Jones, in the great chamber, 1633.

" This morning being the 9th of January, 1633, the kinge was pleasd to call mee into his withdrawinge chamber to the windowe, wher he went over all that I had croſte in Davenants play-booke, and allowing of *faith* and *ſlight* to bee aſſeverations only, and no oathes, markt them to ſtande, and ſome other few things, but in the greater part allowed of my reformations. This was done upon a complaint of Mr. Endymion Porters in December.

" The kinge is pleasd to take *faith*, *death*, *ſlight*, for aſſeverations, and no oaths,[8] to which I doe humbly ſubmit as my maſters judgment; but under favour conceive them to be oaths, and enter them here, to declare my opinion and ſubmiſſion.

" The 10 of January, 1633, I returned unto Mr. Davenant his play-booke of *The Witts*, corrected by the kinge.

" The kinge would not take the booke at Mr. Porters hands; but commanded him to bring it unto mee, which he did, and likewiſe commanded Davenant to come to me for it, as I believe; otherwiſe he would not have byn ſo civill.

" *The Guardian*, a play of Mr. Meſſengers, was acted at court on Sunday the 12 January, 1633, by the Kings players, and well likte.

[8] In a ſmall tract of the laſt age, of which I have forgot the title, we are told that Charles the ſecond, being reprimanded by one of his biſhops for frequently introducing profane oaths in his diſcourſe, defended himſelf by ſaying, " Your martyr ſwore twice more than I do."

" *The Tale of the Tub* was acted on tuſday night at Court, the 14 Janua. 1633, by the Queenes players, and not likte.

" *The Winters Tale* was acted on thurſday night at Court, the 16 Janu. 1633, by the K. players, and likt.

" *The Witts* was acted on tuſday night the 28 January, 1633, at Court, before the Kinge and Queene. Well likt. It had a various fate on the ſtage, and at court, though the kinge commended the language, but diſlikt the plott and characters.

" *The Night-walkers* was acted on thurſday night the 30 Janu. 1633, at Court, before the King and Queen. Likt as a merry play. Made by Fletcher.[9]

" The Inns of court gentlemen preſented their maſque at court, before the kinge and queene, the 2 February, 1633, and performed it very well. Their ſhew through the ſtreets was glorious, and in the nature of a triumph.—Mr. Surveyor Jones invented and made the ſcene; Mr. Sherley the poett made the proſe and verſe.

" On thurſday night the 6 of Febru. 1633, *The Gameſter* was acted at Court, made by Sherley, out of a plot of the king's, given him by mee; and well likte. The king ſayd it was the beſt play he had ſeen for ſeven years.

" On Shrovetuſday night, the 18 of February, 1633, the Kinge dancte his Maſque, accompanied with 11 lords, and attended with 10 pages. It was the nobleſt maſque of my time to this day, the beſt poetrye, beſt ſcenes, and the beſt habitts. The kinge and queene were very well pleasd with my ſervice, and the Q. was pleasd to tell mee before

[9] In a former page the following entry is found:

" For a play of Fletchers corrected by Sherley, called *The Night Walkers*, the 11 May, 1633, £.2. 0. 0. For the queen's players."

the king, ' Pour les habits, elle n'avoit jamais rien veu de ſi brave.'

" *Buſſy d'Amboiſe* was playd by the king's players on Eaſter-monday night, at the Cockpitt in court.

" *The Paſtorall* was playd by the king's players on Eaſter-tuſday night, at the Cockpitt in court.

" I committed Cromes, a broker in Longe Lane, the 16 of Febru. 1634, to the Marſhalſey, for lending a church-robe with the name of JESUS upon it to the players in Saliſbury Court, to preſent a Flamen, a prieſt of the heathens. Upon his petition of ſubmiſſion, and acknowledgment of his faulte, I releasd him, the 17 Febr. 1634.

" The Second part of *Arviragus and Philicia* playd at court the 16 Febru. 1635, with great approbation of K. and Queene.

" *The Silent Woman* playd at Court of St. James on thurſday ye 18 Febr. 1635.

" On Wenſday the 23 of Febru. 1635, the Prince d'Amours gave a maſque to the Prince Elector and his brother, in the Middle Temple, wher the Queene was pleaſd to grace the entertaynment by putting of majeſty to putt on a citizens habitt, and to ſett upon the ſcaffold on the right hande amongſt her ſubjects.

" The queene was attended in the like habitts by the Marques Hamilton, the Counteſs of Denbighe, the Counteſs of Holland, and the Lady Elizabeth Feildinge. Mrs. Baſſe, the law-woman,[a] leade in this royal citizen and her company.

" The Earle of Holland, the Lord Goringe, Mr. Percy, and Mr. Jermyn, were the men that attended.

" The Prince Elector ſatt in the midſt, his

[a] i. e. the woman who had the care of the hall belonging to the Middle Temple.

brother Robert on the right hand of him, and the Prince d'Amours on the left.

" The Maſque was very well performd in the dances, ſcenes, cloathinge, and muſique, and the Queene was pleasd to tell mee at her going away, that ſhe liked it very well.

" Henry Lauſe } made the muſique.
" William Lauſe }

" Mr. Corſeilles made the ſcenes.

" *Loves Aftergame*,[3] played at St. James by the Saliſbury Court players, the 24 of Feb. 1635.

" *The Dukes Miſtres* played at St. James the 22 of Feb. 1635. Made by Sherley.

" The ſame day at Whitehall I acquainted king Charles, my maſter, with the danger of Mr. Hunts ſickneſs, and moved his Majeſty, in caſe he dyed, that he would bee pleasd to give mee leave to commend a fitt man to ſucceede him in his place of Yeoman of the Revells.

" The kinge tould mee, that till then he knew not that Will Hunt held a place in the Revells. To my requeſt he was pleasd to give mee this anſwer. Well, ſays the king, I will not diſpoſe of it, or it ſhall not be diſpoſed of, till I heare you. *Ipſiſſimis verbis.* Which I enter here as full of grace, and for my better remembrance, ſinſe *my maſter's cuſtom affords not ſo many words, nor ſo ſignificant.*

" The 28 Feb. *The Knight of the Burning Peſtle* playd by the Q. men at St. James.

" The firſt and ſecond part of *Arviragus and Philicia* were acted at the Cockpitt, [Whitehall] before the Kinge and Queene, the Prince, and

[3] *The Proxy, or Love's Aftergame*, was produced at the theatre at Saliſbury-court, November 24, 1634.

Prince Elector, the 18 and 19 Aprill, 1636, being monday and tuſday in Eaſter weeke.

" At the increaſe of the plague to 4 within the citty and 54 in all.—This day the 12 May, 1636, I received a warrant from my lord Chamberlin for the ſuppreſſing of playes and ſhews, and at the ſame time delivered my ſeverall warrants to George Wilſon for the four companys of players, to be ſerved upon them.

" At Hampton Court, 1636.

" The firſt part of *Arviragus*, Monday Afternoon, 26 Decemb.

" The ſecond part of *Arviragus*, tuſday 27 Decemb.

" *Love and Honour*, on New-years night, ſonday.

" *The Elder Brother*, on thurſday the 5 Janua.

" *The Kinge and no Kinge*, on tuſday ye 10 Janua.

" *The Royal Slave*, on thurſday the 12 of Janu. —Oxford play, written by Cartwright. The king gave him forty pounds.

" *Rollo*, the 24 Janu.

" *Julius Cæſar*, at St. James, the 31 Janu. 1636.

" *Cupides Revenge*, at St. James, by Beeſton's boyes, the 7 Febru.

" *A Wife for a monthe*, by the K. players, at St. James, the 9 Febru.

" *Wit without money*, by the B. boyes at St. James, the 14 Feb.

" *The Governor*, by the K. players, at St. James, the 17 Febru. 1636.

" *Philaſter*, by the K. players, at St. James, ſhrov-tuſday, the 21 Febru. 1636.

" On thurſday morning the 23 of February the bill of the plague made the number at forty foure, upon which decreaſe the king gave the players their

liberty, and they began the 24 February 1636. [1636-7.]

" The plague encreaſinge, the players laye ſtill untill the 2 of October, when they had leave to play.

" Mr. Beeſton was commanded to make a company of boyes, and began to play at the Cockpitt with them the ſame day.

" I diſpoſed of Perkins, Sumner, Sherlock and Turner, to Salſbury Court, and joynd them with the beſt of that company.

" Received of Mr. Lowens for my paines about Meſſinger's play called *The King and the Subject*, 2 June, 1638, £. 1. 0. 0.

" The name of *The King and the Subject* is altered, and I allowed the play to bee acted, the reformations moſt ſtrictly obſerved, and not otherwiſe, the 5th of June, 1638.

" At Greenwich the 4 of June, Mr. W. Murray, gave mee power from the king to allowe of the play, and tould me that hee would warant it.

" Monys? Wee'le rayſe ſupplies what ways we pleaſe,
" And force you to ſubſcribe to blanks, in which
" We'le mulct you as wee ſhall thinke fitt. The Cæſars
" In Rome were wiſe, acknowledginge no lawes
" But what their ſwords did ratifye, the wives
" And daughters of the ſenators bowinge to
" Their wills, as deities," &c.

" This is a peece taken out of Phillip Meſſingers play, called *The King and the Subject*, and enterd here for ever to bee rememberd by my ſon and thoſe that caſt their eyes on it, in honour of Kinge Charles, my maſter, who, readinge over the play at Newmarket, ſet his marke upon the place with his owne hande, and in thes words:

' *This is too inſolent, and to bee changed.*'

" Note, that the poett makes it the ſpeech of a king, Don Pedro king of Spayne, and ſpoken to his ſubjects.

" On thurſday the 9 of Aprill, 1640, my Lord Chamberlen beſtow'd a play on the Kinge and Queene, call'd *Cleodora, Queene of Arragon*, made by my cozen Abington. It was performd by my lords ſervants out of his own family, and his charge in the cloathes and ſceanes, which were very riche and curious. In the hall at Whitehall.

" The king and queene commended the generall entertaynment, as very well acted, and well ſet out.

It was acted the ſecond tyme in the ſame place before the king and queene.

" At Eaſter 1640, the Princes company went to the Fortune, and the Fortune company to the Red Bull.

" On Monday the 4 May, 1640, William Beeſton was taken by a meſſenger, and committed to the Marſhalſey, by my Lord Chamberlens warant, for playinge a playe without licenſe. The ſame day the company at the Cockpitt was commanded by my Lord Chamberlens warant to forbeare playinge, for playinge when they were forbidden by mee, and for other diſobedience, and laye ſtill monday, tuſday, and wenſday. On thurſday at my Lord Chamberlens entreaty I gave them their liberty, and upon their petition of ſubmiſſion ſubſcribed by the players, I reſtored them to their liberty on thurſday.

" The play I cald for, and, forbiddinge the playinge of it, keepe the booke, becauſe it had relation to the paſſages of the K.s journey into the Northe, and was complaynd of by his M.ty to mee, with commande to puniſhe the offenders.

" On Twelfe Night, 1641, the prince had a play called *The Scornful Lady*, at the Cockpitt, but the kinge and queene were not there; and it was the only play acted at courte in the whole Chriſtmas.

" [1642. June.] Received of Mr. Kirke, for a new play which I burnte for the ribaldry and offenſe that was in it, £.2. 0. 0.

" Received of Mr. Kirke for another new play called *The Iriſhe Rebellion*, the 8 June, 1642, £.2. 0. 0.

" Here ended my allowance of plaies, for the war began in Aug. 1642."

Sir William D'Avenant, we have already ſeen,[4] about ſixteen months after the death of Ben Jonſon, obtained from his majeſty (Dec. 13, 1638,) a grant of an annuity of one hundred pounds *per ann.* which he enjoyed as poet laureat till his death. In the following year (March 26, 1639.) a patent paſſed the great ſeal authorizing him to erect a playhouſe, which was then intended to have been built behind *The Three Kings Ordinary* in Fleet-ſtreet: but this ſcheme was not carried into execution. I find from a Manuſcript in the Lord Chamberlain's Office, that after the death of Chriſtopher Beeſton, Sir W. D'Avenant was appointed by the Lord Chamberlain, (June 27, 1639,) " Governor of the King and Queens company acting at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, during the leaſe which Mrs. Elizabeth Beeſton, *alias* Hutcheſon, hath or doth hold in the ſaid houſe:" and I ſuppoſe he appointed her ſon Mr. William Beeſton his deputy, for from Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, he appears for a ſhort time to have had the management of that theatre.

[4] Vol. I. [Note *, on article *Shakſpeare, Ford, and Jonſon.*]

In the latter end of the year 1659, ſome months before the Reſtoration of K. Charles II. the theatres, which had been ſuppreſſed during the uſurpation, began to revive, and ſeveral plays were performed at the Red Bull in St. John's-ſtreet, in that and the following year, before the return of the king. In June 1660, three companies ſeem to have been formed; that already mentioned; one under Mr. William Beeſton in Saliſbury-court, and one at the Cockpit in Drury-lane under Mr. Rhodes, who had been wardrobe-keeper at the theatre in Black-friars before the breaking out of the Civil Wars. Sir Henry Herbert, who ſtill retained his office of Maſter of the Revels, endeavoured to obtain from theſe companies the ſame emoluments which he had formerly derived from the exhibition of plays; but after a long ſtruggle, and after having brought ſeveral actions at law againſt Sir William D'Avenant, Mr. Betterton, Mr. Mohun, and others, he was obliged to relinquiſh his claims, and his office ceaſed to be attended with either authority or profit. It received its death wound from a grant from King Charles II. under the privy ſignet, Auguſt 21, 1660, authorizing Mr. Thomas Killigrew, one of the grooms of his Majeſty's bedchamber, and Sir William D'Avenant, to erect two new playhouſes and two new companies, of which they were to have the regulation; and prohibiting any other theatrical repreſentation in London, Weſtminſter, or the ſuburbs, but thoſe exhibited by the ſaid two companies.

Among the papers of Sir Henry Herbert ſeveral are preſerved relative to his diſputed claim, ſome of which I ſhall here inſert in their order, as containing ſome curious and hitherto unknown particulars relative to the ſtage at this time, and

alſo as illuſtrative of its hiſtory at a precedent period.

I.

" For Mr. William Beeſton.

" Whereas the allowance of plays, the ordering of players and playmakers, and the permiſſion for erecting of playhouſes, hath, time out of minde whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, belonged to the Maſter of his Ma.ties office of the Revells; And whereas Mr. William Beeſton hath deſired authority and lycence from mee to continue the houſe called Saliſbury Court playhouſe in a playhouſe, which was formerly built and erected into a playhouſe by the permiſſion and lycence of the Maſter of the Revells.

" Theſe are therefore by virtue of a grant under the great ſeal of England, and of the conſtant practice thereof, to continue and conſtitute the ſaid houſe called Saliſbury Court playhouſe into a playhouſe, and to authorize and lycence the ſaid Mr. Beeſton to ſett, lett, or uſe it for a playhouſe, wherein comedies, tragedies, tragicomedies, paſtoralls, and interludes, may be acted. Provided that noe perſons be admitted to act in the ſaid playhouſe but ſuch as ſhall be allowed by the Maſter of his Ma.ties office of the Revells. Given under my hand and ſeale at the office of the Revells, this————"

[This paper appears to be only a copy, and is not dated nor ſigned; ending as above. I believe, it was written in June 1660.]

II.

" To the kings moſt excellent Majeſty.

" The humble Petition of John Rogers,

" Moſt humbly ſheweth,

" That your petitioner at the beginning of the late calamitys loſt thereby his whole eſtate, and during the warr ſuſteyned much detriment and impriſonment, and loſt his limbs or the uſe thereof; who ſerved his Excellency the now Lord General, both in England and Scotland, and performed good and faithfull ſervice; in conſideration whereof and by being ſoe much decreapitt as not to act any more in the wars, his Excellency was favourably pleaſed, for your petitioners future ſubſiſtance without being further burthenſome to this kingdom, or to your Majeſty for a penſion, to grant him a tolleration to erect a playhouſe or to have a ſhare out of them already tollerated, your petitioner thereby undertaking to ſuppreſs all riots, tumults, or moleſtations that may thereby ariſe. And for that the ſaid graunt remains imperfect unleſs corroborated by your majeſty.

" He therefore humbly implores your moſt ſacred Majeſty, in tender compaſſion, out of your kingly clemency to confirm unto him a ſhare out of the profitts of the ſaid playhouſes, or ſuch allowance by them to be given as formerly they uſed to alow to perſons for to keep the peace of the ſame, that he may with his wife and family be thereby preſerved and relieved in his maimed aged years; and he ſhall daily pray."

" At the Court at Whitehall, the 7th of Auguſt, 1660.

" His Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed to refer this petition to Sir Henry Herbert, Maſter of his Majeſties Revells, to take ſuch order therein, as ſhall be agreeable to equity, without further troubling his majeſty.

" (A true Copye.) J. HOLLIS."

" Auguſt 20, 1660. From the office of the Revells.

" In obedience to his M.ties command I have taken the matter of the Petitioners requeſt into conſideration, and doe thereuppon conceive it very reaſonable that the petitioner ſhould have the ſame allowance weekly from you and every of you, for himſelfe and his men,[5] for guarding your playhouſes from all moleſtations and injuries, which you formerly did or doe allow or pay to other perſons for the ſame or ſuch like ſervices; and that it be duely and truely paid him without denial. And the rather for that the Kings moſt excellent Ma.tie upon the Lord General Monks recommendation, and the conſideration of the Petitioners loſſes and ſufferings, hath thought fitt to commiſſerate the Petitioner John Rogers his ſaid condition, and to refer unto me the relief of the ſaid petitioner. Given at his Ma.ties office of the Revells, under my hand and the ſeale of the ſaid office, the twentieth day of Auguſt, in the twelve yeare of his Ma.ties raigne.

" To the Actors at the playhouſes called the Red Bull, Cockpit, and theatre in Saliſbury Court, and to every of them, in and about the citties of London and Weſtminſter."

[5] It appears from another paper that his men were ſoldiers.

III.

" To the kings moſt excellent Majeſtie.

" The humble petition of Sir Henry Herbert, Knight, Maſter of your Majeſties office of the Revels.

" Sheweth,

" That whereas your Petitioner by vertue of ſeverall Grants under the great ſeale of England hath executed the ſaid office, as Maſter of the Revells, for about 40 yeares, in the times of King James, and of King Charles, both of bleſſed memory, with exception only to the time of the late horrid rebellion.

" And whereas the ordering of playes and playmakers and the permiſſion for erecting of playhouſes are peculiar branches of the ſaid office, and in the conſtant practice thereof by your petitioners predeceſſors in the ſaid office and himſelfe, with exception only as before excepted, and authorized by grante under the ſaid greate ſeale of England; and that no perſon or perſons have erected any playhouſes, or rayſed any company of players, without licence from your petitioners ſaid predeceſſors or from your petitioner, but Sir William D'Avenant, Knight, who obtained leave of Oliver and Richard Cromwell to vent his operas, at a time when your petitioner owned not their authority.

" And whereas your Majeſty hath lately ſignified your pleaſure by warrant to Sir Jeffery Palmer, Knight and Bar. your Majeſties Attorney General, for the drawing of a grante for your Majeſties ſignature to paſs the greate ſeale, thereby to enable and empower Mr. Thomas Killegrew and the ſaid

Sir William D'Avenant to erect two new playhouſes in London, Weſtminſter, or the ſubburbs thereof, and to make choice of two companies of players to bee under theire ſole regulation, and that noe other players ſhall be authorized to play in London, Weſtminſter, or the ſubburbs thereof, but ſuch as the ſaid Mr. Killegrew and Sir William D'Avenant ſhall allow of.

" And whereas your petitioner hath been repreſented to your Ma.ty as a perſon conſenting unto the ſaid powers expreſſed in the ſaid warrant. Your petitioner utterly denies the leaſt conſent or fore-knowledge thereof, but looks upon it as an unjuſt ſurprize, and deſtructive to the power granted under the ſaid greate ſeale to your petitioner, and to the conſtant practice of the ſaid office, and exerciſed in the office ever ſince players were admitted by authority to act playes, and cannot legally be done as your petitioner is adviſed; and it may be of very ill conſequence, as your petitioner is adviſed, by a new grante to take away and cut of a branch of your ancient powers, granted to the ſaid office under the great ſeale.

" Your petitioner therefore humbly praies that your Ma.ty would be juſtly as graciouſly pleaſed to revoke the ſaid warrant from your Ma.ties ſaid Attorney Generall, or to refer the premiſes to the conſideration of your Ma.ties ſaid Attorney Generall, to certify your Ma.ty of the truth of them, and his judgement on the whole matters in queſtion betwixt the ſaid Mr. Killegrew, Sir William D'Avenant, and your petitioner, in relation to the legality and conſequence of their demands and your petitioners rights.

" And your petitioner ſhall ever pray."

" At the Court at Whitehall, 4 Auguſt, 1660.

" His Ma.tie is pleaſed to refer this petition to Sir Jeffery Palmer, Knight and Baronet, his Ma.ties Attorney Generall; who haveing called before him all perſons concerned, and examined the petitioners right, is to certify what he finds to be the true ſtate of the matters in difference, together with his opinion thereupon. And then his M.tie will declare his further pleaſure.

EDW. NICHOLAS."

" May it pleaſe your moſt excellent M.ty

" Although I have heard the parties concerned in this petition ſeverally and apart, yet in reſpect Mr. Killigrew and Sir William D'Avenant, having notice of a time appointed to heare all parties together, did not come, I have forborne to proceed further; having alſo receaved an intimation, by letter from Sir William D'Avenant, that I was freed from further hearing this matter.

" 14 Sept. 1660. J. PALMER."

IV.

" From Mr. Moſely concerning the playes, &c. Auguſt 30, 1660.[6]

" Sir,

" I have beene very much ſolicited by the gentlemen actors of the Red Bull for a note under my hand to certifie unto your worſhp. what agreement I had made with Mr. Rhodes of the Cockpitt play-

[6] This is the indorſement, written by Sir Henry Herbert's own hand.

houſe. Truly, Sir, I am ſo farr from any agreement with him, that I never ſo much as treated with him, nor with any from him, neither did I ever conſent directly or indirectly, that hee or any others ſhould act any playes that doe belong to mee, without my knowledge and conſent had and procured. And the ſame alſo I doe certify concerning the Whitefryers playhouſe[7] and players.

" Sir, this is all I have to trouble you withall att preſent, and therefore I ſhall take the boldneſſe to remaine,

Your Worſh.[s] moſt humble Servant,

HUMPHREY MOSELY."

" Auguſt 30. 60."[8]

V.

On the 21ſt of Auguſt, 1660, the following grant, againſt which Sir Henry Herbert had petitioned to be heard, paſſed the privy ſignet:

" Charles the Second by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, defender of the fayth, &c. to all to whome theſe preſents ſhall come greeting. Whereas wee are given to underſtand that certain perſons in and about our citty of London, or the ſuburbs thereof, doe frequently aſſemble for the performing and acting of playes and enterludes for rewards, to which divers of our ſubjects doe for their entertainment reſort; which ſaid playes, as we are informed, doe containe much matter of prophanation and ſcurrility, ſoe that ſuch kind of entertainments,

[7] i. e. the playhouſe in Saliſbury-court.

[8] The date inſerted by Sir Henry Herbert.

which, if well managed, might ſerve as morall inſtructions in humane life, as the ſame are now uſed, doe for the moſt part tende to the debauchinge of the manners of ſuch as are preſent at them, and are very ſcandalous and offenſive to all pious and well diſpoſed perſons. We, takeing the premiſſes into our princely conſideration, yett not holding it neceſſary totally to ſuppreſſe the uſe of theaters, becauſe wee are aſſured, that, if the evill and ſcandall in the playes that now are or haue bin acted were taken away, the ſame might ſerue as innocent and harmleſſe diuertiſement for many of our ſubjects; and haueing experience of the art and ſkill of our truſty and well beloued Thomas Killegrew, eſq. one of the Groomes of our Bedchamber, and of Sir William Dauenant, knight, for the purpoſes hereafter mentioned, doe hereby giue and grante vnto the ſaid Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Dauenant full power and authority to erect two companies of players, conſiſtinge reſpectively of ſuch perſons as they ſhall chuſe and appoint, and to purchaſe, builde and erect, or hire at their charge, as they ſhall thinke fitt, two houſes or theaters, with all convenient roomes and other neceſſaries thereunto appertaining, for the repreſentation of tragydies, comedyes, playes, operas, and all other entertainments of that nature, in convenient places: and likewiſe to ſettle and eſtabliſh ſuch payments to be paid by thoſe that ſhall reſort to ſee the ſaid repreſentations performed, as either haue bin accuſtomely giuen and taken in the like kind, or as ſhall be reaſonable in regard of the great expences of SCENES, muſick, and ſuch new decorations as haue not been formerly uſed; with further power to make ſuch allowances out of that which they ſhall ſo receiue, to the actors, and other perſons employed in the ſaid repreſentations in

both houſes reſpectively, as they ſhall think fitt: the ſaid companies to be under the gouernement and authority of them the ſaid Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Dauenant. And in regard of the extraordinary licentiouſneſs that hath been lately uſed in things of this nature, our pleaſure is, that there ſhall be noe more places of repreſentations, nor companies of actors of playes, or operas by recitative, muſick, or repreſentations by danceing and ſcenes, or any other entertainments on the ſtage, in our citties of London and Weſtminſter, or in the liberties of them, then the two to be now erected by vertue of this authority. Nevertheleſs wee doe hereby by our authority royal ſtrictly enjoine the ſaid Thomas Killegrew and Sir William Dauenant, that they doe not at any time hereafter cauſe to be acted or repreſented any play, enterlude, or opera, containing any matter of prophanation, ſcurrility or obſcenity: And wee doe further hereby authorize and command them the ſaid Thomas Killegrew and Sir William Dauenant to peruſe all playes that haue been formerly written, and to expunge all prophaneſſe and ſcurrility from the ſame, before they be repreſented or acted. And this our grante and authority made to the ſaid Thomas Killegrew and Sir William Dauenant, ſhall be effectuall and remaine in full force and vertue, notwithſtanding any former order or direction by us given, for the ſuppreſſing of playhouſes and playes, or any other entertainments of the ſtage. Given, &c. Auguſt 21, 1660."

VI.

The following paper is indorſed by Sir Henry Herbert:

" Warrant ſent to Rhodes, and brought backe by him the 10 of Octob. 60, with this anſwer— *That the Kinge did authorize him.*"

" Whereas by vertue of a grante under the great ſeale of England, playes, players and playmakers, and the permiſſion for erecting of playhouſes, have been allowed, ordered and permitted by the Maſters of his Maties office of the Revells, my predeceſſors ſucceſſively, time out of minde, whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, and by mee for almoſt forty yeares, with exception only to the late times:

" Theſe are therefore in his Maties name to require you to attend mee concerning your playhouſe called the Cockpitt playhouſe in Drury Lane, and to bring with you ſuch authority as you have for erecting of the ſaid houſe into a playhouſe, at your perill. Given at his Maties office of the Revells the 8th day of Octob. 1660.

HENRY HERBERT."

" To Mr. John Rhodes at the Cockpitt playhouſe in Drury Lane."

VII.

Copy of the Warrant ſent to the actors at the Cockpitt in Drury Lane by Tom Browne, the 13 Octob. 60.

" Whereas ſeverall complaints have been made againſt you to the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty by Mr. Killegrew and Sir William D'Avenant, concerning the unuſuall and unreaſonable rates taken at your playhouſe doores, of the reſpective perſons of quality that deſire to refreſh or improve themſelves by the ſight of your morrall entertainments

which were conſtituted for profitt and delight. And the ſaid complaints made uſe of by the ſaid Mr. Killegrew and Sir William Davenant as part of their ſuggeſtions for their pretended power, and for your late reſtrainte.

" And whereas complaints have been made thereof formerly to mee, wherewith you were acquainted, as innovations and exactions not allowed by mee; and that the like complaints are now made, that you do practice the ſaid exactions in takeing of exceſſive and unaccuſtomed rates uppon the reſtitution of you to your liberty.

" Theſe are therefore in his Ma.ties name to require you and every of you to take from the perſons of qualitie and others as daily frequent your play-houſe, ſuch uſuall and accuſtomed rates only as were formerly taken at the Blackfryers by the late company of actors there, and noe more nor otherwiſe, for every new or old play that ſhall be allowed you by the Maſter of the Revells to be acted in the ſaid playhouſe or any other playhouſe. *And you are hereby further required to bringe or ſende to me all ſuch old plaies as you doe intend to act at your ſaid playhouſe, that they may be reformed of prophanes and ribaldry, at your perill. Given at the office of the Revells.*[9]

HENRY HERBERT."

" To Mr. Michael Mohun,
and the reſt of the actors
of the Cockpitt play-
houſe in Drury Lane.
The 13th of October,
1660."

[9] The words in Italick characters were added by Sir Henry Herbert's own hand.

VIII

" To the Kings moſt excellent Majeſtie.

" The humble Petition of Michael Mohun, Robert Shatterel, Charles Hart, Nich. Burt, Wm. Cartwright, Walter Clun, and William Winterſell.

" Humbly ſheweth,

" That your Majeſties humble petitioners, having been ſuppreſt by a warrant from your Majeſtie, Sir Henry Herbert informed us it was Mr. Killegrew had cauſed it, and if wee would give him ſoe much a weeke, he would protect them againſt Mr. Killegrew and all powers. The complaint againſt us was, ſcandalous plays, raiſing the price, and acknowledging noe authority; all which ended in ſoe much per weeke to him; for which wee had leave to play and promiſe of his protection: the which your Majeſty knows he was not able to performe, ſince Mr. Killegrew, having your Majeſties former grante, ſuppreſt us, untill wee had by covenant obliged ourſelves to act with WOEMEN, a new theatre, and habitts according to our SCEANES. And according to your Majeſties approbation, from all the companies we made election of one company; and ſo farre Sir Henry Herbert hath bene from protecting us, that he hath been a continual diſturbance unto us, who were [united] by your Majeſties commande under Mr. Killegrew as Maſter of your Majeſties Comedians; and wee have annext unto our petition the date of the warrant by which wee were ſuppreſt, and for a protection againſt that warrant he forced from us ſoe much a weeke. And if your majeſtie be graciouſly pleaſed

to caſt your eye upon the date of the warrant hereto annext, your majeſtie ſhall find the date to our contract ſucceeded; wherein he hath broke the covenants, and not your petitioners, haveing abuſed your majeſtie in giveing an ill character of your petitioners, only to force a ſum from theire poore endeavours; who never did nor ſhall refuſe him all the reſeits and juſt profitts that belong to his place; hee having now obtained leave to arreſt us, only to give trouble and vexation to your petitioners, hopeing by that meanes to force a ſumme of money illegally from us.

"The premiſes conſidered, your petitioners humbly beſeech your majeſtie to be graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify your royal pleaſure to the Lord Chamberlaine, that your petitioners may not bee moleſted in their calling. And your petitioners in duty bound ſhall pray, &c.

"Nich. Burt. "Robt. Shatterel."[a]
William Winterſhall.
Charles Hart."

Mr. Thomas Betterton having been a great admirer of Shakſpeare, and having taken the trouble in the beginning of this century, when he was above ſeventy years of age, of travelling to Stratford-upon-Avon to collect materials for Mr. Rowe's life of our author, is entitled to particular notice from an editor of his works. Very inaccurate accounts of this actor have been given in

[a] Michael Mohun, William Cartwright, and Walter Clun did not ſign.

the *Biographia Britannica* and ſeveral other books. It is obſervable that biographical writers often give the world long diſſertations concerning facts and dates, when the fact conteſted might at once be aſcertained by viſiting a neighbouring pariſh-church: and this has been particularly the caſe of Mr. Betterton. He was the ſon of Matthew Betterton (under-cook to King Charles the Firſt) and was baptized, as I learn from the regiſter of St. Margaret's pariſh, Auguſt 11, 1635. He could not have appeared on the ſtage in 1656, as has been aſſerted, no theatre being then allowed. His firſt appearance was at the Cockpit, in Drury Lane, in Mr. Rhodes's company, who played there by a licenſe in the year 1659, when Betterton was twenty-four years of age. He married Mrs. Mary Saunderſon, an actreſs, who had been bred by Sir William D'Avenant, ſome time in the year 1663, as appears by the *Dramatis Perſonæ* of *The Slighted Maid*, printed in that year.[3] From a paper now before me which Sir Henry Herbert has entitled a *Breviat* of matters to be proved on the trial of an action brought by him againſt Mr. Betterton in 1662, I find that he continued to act at the Cockpit

[3] This celebrated actor continued on the ſtage fifty years, and died inteſtate in April, 1710. No perſon appears to have adminiſtered to him. Such was his extreme modeſty, that not long before his death "he confeſſed that he was yet learning to be an actor." His wife ſurvived him two years. By her laſt will, which was made, March 10, 1711-12, and proved in the following month, ſhe bequeathed to Mrs. Mary Head, her ſiſter, and to two other perſons, 20l. apiece, "to be paid out of the arrears of the penſion which her Majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to grant her;" to Mrs. Anne Betterton, Mr. Wilks, Mr. Dent, Mr. Dogget, and Mrs. Bracegirdle, twenty ſhillings each for rings, and to her reſiduary legatee Mrs. Frances Williamſon, the wife of —— Williamſon, "her dearly beloved huſband's picture."

Mrs. Mary Head muſt have been Mr. Betterton's ſiſter; for Mrs. Betterton's own name was Mary.

till November 1660, when he and ſeveral other performers entered into articles with Sir William D'Avenant; in conſequence of which they began in that month to play at the theatre in Saliſbury Court, from whence after ſome time, I believe, they returned to the Cockpit, and afterwards removed to a new theatre in Portugal Row near Lincoln's Inn Fields. Theſe Articles were as follows:

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT tripartite, indented, made, and agreed upon this fifth day of November in the twelfth yeere of the reigne of our ſovereigne Lord king Charles the Second, Annoque Domini 1660, between Sir Wm. Davenant of London, Kt. of the firſt part, and Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moſeley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilleſton, of the ſecond part; and Henry Harris of the citty of London, painter, of the third part, as followeth.

Imprimis, the ſaid Sir William Davenant doth for himſelf, his executors, adminiſtrators and aſſigns, covenant, promiſe, grant, and agree, to and with the ſaid Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moſeley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilleſton, that he the ſaid Sir William Davenant by vertue of the authority to him derived for that purpoſe does hereby conſtitute, ordeine and erect them the ſaid Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moſeley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilleſton and their aſſociates, to bee a company, publiquely to act all manner of tragedies, comedies, and playes whatſoever, in any theatre or playhouſe erected in

London or Weſtminſter or the ſuburbs thereof, and to take the uſual rates for the ſame, to the uſes hereafter expreſt, untill the ſaid Sir William Davenant ſhall provide a newe theatre with SCENES.

Item, it is agreed by and between all the ſaid parties to theſe preſents, that the ſaid company (untill the ſaid theatre bee provided by the ſaid Sir William Davenant) be authorized by him to act tragedies, comedies, and playes in the playhouſe called Saliſbury Court playhouſe, or any other houſe, upon the conditions only hereafter following, vizt.

That the generall receipte of money of the ſaid playhouſe ſhall (after the houſe-rent, hirelings,[4] and all other accuſtomary and neceſſary expences in that kind be defrayed) bee divided into fowerteene proportions or ſhares, whereof the ſaid Sir William Davenant ſhall have foure full proportions or ſhares to his owne uſe, and the reſt to the uſe of the ſaid companie.

That dureinge the time of playing in the ſaid playhouſe, (untill the aforeſaid theatre bee provided by the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant,) the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant ſhall depute the ſaid Thomas Batterton, James Noakes, and Thomas Sheppey, or any one of them particularly, for him and on his behalfe, to receive his proportion of thoſe ſhares, and to ſurveye the accompte conduceinge thereunto, and to pay the ſaid proportions every night to him the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant or his aſſignes, which they doe hereby covenant to pay accordingly.

That the ſaid Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, and the reſt of the ſaid company ſhall admit ſuch a conſort of muſiciens into the ſaid playhouſe

[4] i. e. men hired occaſionally by the night: in modern language, *ſupernumeraries*.

for their neceſſary uſe, as the ſaid Sir William ſhall nominate and provide, duringe their playinge in the ſaid playhouſe, not exceedinge the rate of 30s. the day, to bee defrayed out of the general expences of the houſe before the ſaid fowerteene ſhares bee devided.

That the ſaid Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, and the reſt of the ſaid companie ſoe authorized to play in the playhouſe in Saliſbury Court or elſewhere, as aforeſaid, ſhall at one weeks warninge given by the ſaid Sir William Davenant, his heires or aſſignes, diſſolve and conclude their playeing at the houſe and place aforeſaid, or at any other houſe where they ſhall play, and ſhall remove and joyne with the ſaid Henry Harris, and with other men and women provided or to bee provided by the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, to performe ſuch tragedies, comedies, playes, and repreſentations in that theatre to be provided by him the ſaid Sir William as aforeſaid.

Item. It is agreed by and betweene all the ſaid parties to theſe preſents in manner and form followinge, vizt. That when the ſaid companie, together with the ſaid Henry Harris, are joyned with the men and women to be provided by the ſaid Sir William D'Avenant to act and performe in the ſaid theatre to bee provided by the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, that the generall receipte of the ſaid theatre (the generall expence firſt beinge deducted) ſhall bee devided into fifteene ſhares or proportions, whereof two ſhares or proportions ſhall bee paid to the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſigns, towards the houſe-rent, buildinge, ſcaffoldinge, and makeing of frames for SCENES, and one other ſhare or proportion ſhall likewiſe bee paid to the ſaid Sir William, his executors, adminiſtrators and aſſignes, for proviſion

of habitts, properties, and SCENES, for a ſupplement of the ſaid theatre.

That the other twelve ſhares (after all expences of men hirelinges and other cuſtomary expences deducted) ſhall bee devided into ſeaven and five ſhares or proportions, whereof the ſaid Sir Wm. D'Avenant, his executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſigns, ſhall have ſeaven ſhares or proportions, to mainteine all the women that are to performe or repreſent womens parts in the aforeſaid tragedies, comedies, playes, or repreſentations; and in conſideration of erectinge and eſtabliſhinge them to bee a companie, and his the ſaid Sir Wms. paines and expences to that purpoſe for many yeeres. And the other five of the ſaid ſhares or proportions is to bee devided amongſt the reſt of the perſons [parties] to theis preſents, whereof the ſaid Henry Harris is to have an equal ſhare with the greateſt proportion in the ſaid five ſhares or proportions.

That the generall receipte of the ſaid theatre (from and after ſuch time as the ſaid Companie have performed their playeinge in Saliſbury Court, or in any other playhouſe, according to and noe longer than the tyme allowed by him the ſaid William as aforeſaid) ſhall bee by ballatine, or tickets ſealed for all doores and boxes.

That Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, adminiſtrators or aſſignes, ſhall at the general chardge of the whole receipte provide three perſons to receive money for the ſaid tickets, in a roome adjoyning to the ſaid theatre; and that the actors in the ſaid theatre, nowe parties to theſe preſents, who are concerned in the ſaid five ſhares or proportions, ſhall dayly or weekely appoint two or three of themſelves, or the men hirelings deputed by them, to ſit with the aforeſaid three perſons appointed by the ſaid Sir William, that they may

ſurvey or give an accompt of the money received for the ſaid tickets: That the ſaid ſeaven ſhares ſhall be paid nightly by the ſaid three perſons by the ſaid Sir Wm. deputed, or by anie of them, to him the ſaid Sir Wm. his executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſignes.

That the ſaid Sir William Davenant ſhall appoint half the number of the door-keepers neceſſary for the receipt of the ſaid tickets for doores and boxes, the wardrobe-keeper, barber, and all other neceſſary perſons as hee the ſaid Sir Wm. ſhall think fitt, and their ſallary to bee defrayed at the publique chardge.

That when any ſharer amongſt the actors of the aforeſaid ſhares, and parties to theſe preſents, ſhall dye, that then the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, adminiſtrators or aſſignes, ſhall have the denomination and appointment of the ſucceſſor and ſucceſſors. And likewiſe that the wages of the men hirelings ſhall be appointed and eſtabliſhed by the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſignes.

That the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſignes, ſhall not bee obliged out of the ſhares or proportions allowed to him for the ſupplyeinge of cloathes, habitts, and ſcenes, to provide eyther hatts, feathers, gloves, ribbons, ſworde-belts, bands, ſtockings, or ſhoes, for any of the men actors aforeſaid, unles it be a propertie.

That a private boxe bee provided and eſtabliſhed for the uſe of Thomas Killigrew, Eſq. one of the groomes of his Ma.$^{tie's}$ bedchamber, ſufficient to conteine ſixe perſons, into which the ſaid Mr. Killigrew, and ſuch as he ſhall appoint, ſhall have liberty to enter without any ſallary or pay for their entrance into ſuch a place of the ſaid theatre as the

ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, his heires, executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſignes ſhall appoint.

That the ſaid Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moſeley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilleſton, doe hereby for themſelves covenant, promiſe, grant and agree, to and with the ſaid Sir W. D. his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſignes, by theſe preſents, that they and every of them ſhall become bound to the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, in a bond of 5000l. conditioned for the performance of theſe preſents. And that every ſucceſſor to any part of the ſaid five ſhares or proportions ſhall enter into the like bonds before hee or they ſhall bee admitted to ſhare anie part or proportion of the ſaid ſhares or proportions.

And the ſaid Henry Harris doth hereby for himſelf his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſignes, covenant, promiſe, grant and agree, to and with the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſignes, by theſe preſents, that hee the ſaid Henry Harris ſhall within one weeke after the notice given by Sir Wm. Davenant for the concludinge of the playeinge at Saliſbury Court or any other houſe elſe aboveſaid, become bound to the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant in a bond of 5000l. conditioned for the performance of theſe [preſents]. And that every ſucceſſor to any of the ſaid five ſhares ſhall enter into the like bond, before hee or they ſhall bee admitted to have any part or proportion in the ſaid five ſhares.

Item, it is mutually agreed by and betweene all the parties to theſe preſents, that the ſaid Sir William Davenant alone ſhall bee Maſter and Superior, and ſhall from time to time have the ſole government of the ſaid Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas

Lovell, John Moſeley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner and Thomas Lilleſton, and alſo of the ſaid Henry Harris, and their aſſociates, in relation to the playes [play-houſe] by theſe preſents agreed to bee erected.

On the 15th of Nov. 1660, Sir William D'Avenant's company began to act under theſe articles at the theatre in Saliſbury-court, at which houſe or at the Cockpit they continued to play till March or April, 1662. In October, 1660, Sir Henry Herbert had brought an action on the caſe againſt Mr. Mohun and ſeveral others of Killigrew's company, which was tried in December, 1661, for repreſenting plays without being licenſed by him, and obtained a verdict againſt them, as appears from a paper which I ſhall inſert in its proper place. Encouraged by his ſucceſs in that ſuit, ſoon after D'Avenant's company opened their new theatre in Portugal Row, he brought a ſimilar action (May 6, 1662,) againſt Mr. Betterton, of which I know not the event.[5] In the declaration, now before me, it is ſtated that D'Avenant's company, between the 15th of November 1660, and the 6th of

[5] From a paper which Sir Henry Herbert has intitled "*A Breviat*" of matters to be proved on this trial, it appears that he was poſſeſſed of the Office-books, of his predeceſſors, Mr. Tilney and Sir George Buc; for, among other points of which proof was intended to be produced, he ſtates, that "Several plays were allowed by Mr. Tilney in 1598, which is 62 years ſince:

"As { *Sir William Longſword* / *The Fair Maid of London* / *Richard Cordelion.* } Allowed to be acted in 1598. See the bookes.

King and no King allowed to be acted in 1611, and the ſame to be printed. *Hogg hath loſt its Pearle*, and hundreds more. } Allowed by Sir George Buck."

May 1662, produced ten new plays and 100 revived plays; but the latter number being the uſual ſtyle of declarations at law, may have been inſerted without a ſtrict regard to the fact.

Sir Henry Herbert likewiſe brought two actions on the ſame ground againſt Sir William D'Avenant, in one of which he failed, and in the other was ſucceſsful. To put an end to the conteſt, Sir William in June 1662 beſought the king to interfere.

" To the Kings moſt Sacred Majeſty.

" The humble petition of Sir William Davenant, Knight.

" Sheweth,

" That your petitioner has bin moleſted by Sir Henry Harbert with ſeveral proſecutions at law.

" That thoſe proſecutions have not proceeded by your petitioners default of not paying the ſaid Henry Harbert his pretended fees, (he never having ſent for any to your petitioner,) but becauſe your petitioner hath publiquely preſented plaies; notwithſtanding he is authoriz'd thereunto by pattent from your Majeſties moſt royall Father, and by ſeveral warrants under your Majeſties royal hand and ſignet.

" That your petitioner (to prevent being outlaw'd) has bin inforc'd to anſwer him in two tryals at law, in one of which, at Weſtminſter, your petitioner hath had a verdict againſt him, where it was declar'd that he hath no juriſdiction over any plaiers, nor any right to demand fees of them. In the other, (by a London jury,) the Maſter of Revels was allowed the correction of plaies, and fees

for ſoe doing; but not to give plaiers any licence or authoritie to play, it being prov'd that no plaiers were ever authoriz'd in London or Weſtminſter, to play by the commiſſion of ye Maſter of Revels, but by authoritie immediately from the crowne. Neither was the proportion of fees then determin'd, or made certaine; becauſe ſeverall witneſſes affirm'd that variety of payments had bin made; ſometimes of a noble, ſometimes of twenty, and afterwards of forty ſhillings, for correcting a new play; and that it was the cuſtome to pay nothing for ſuperviſing reviv'd plaies.

" That without any authoritie given him by that laſt verdict, he ſent the day after the tryall a prohibition under his hand and ſeale (directed to the plaiers in Little Lincolnes Inn fields) to forbid them to act plaies any more.

" Therefore your petitioner humbly praies that your Majeſty will graciouſly pleaſe (two verdicts having paſs'd at common law contradicting each other) to referr the caſe to the examination of ſuch honourable perſons as may ſatisfy your Majeſty of the juſt authoritie of the Maſter of Revells, that ſo his fees, (if any be due to him) may be made certaine, to prevent extorſion; and time preſcribed how long he ſhall keep plaies in his hands, in pretence of correcting them; and whether he can demand fees for reviv'd plaies; and laſtly, how long plaies may be lay'd aſyde, ere he ſhall judge them to be reviv'd.

" And your petitioner (as in duty bound) ſhall ever pray," &c.

" At the Court at Hampton Court, the 30th of June, 1662.

" His Majeſty, being graciouſly inclin'd to have a juſt and friendly agreement made betweene the petitioner and the ſaid Sir Henry Harbert, is pleas'd to referr this petition to the right honorable the Lord high Chancellor of England, and the Lord Chamberlaine, who are to call before them, as well the petitioner, as the ſaid Sir Henry Harbert, and upon hearing and examining their differences, are to make a faire and amicable accommodation between them, if it may be, or otherwiſe to certify his Majeſty the true ſtate of this buſineſs, together with their Lord.ps opinions.

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

" Wee appoint Wedneſday morning next before tenn of the clock to heare this buſineſſe, of which Sir Henry Harbert and the other parties concern'd are to have notice, my Lord Chamberlaine having agreed to that hour.

" July 7, 1662. CLARENDONE."

On the reference to the Lord Chancellor and Lord Chamberlain, Sir Henry Herbert preſented the following ſtatement of his claims:

" To the R.t Honn.ble Edward Earle of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England, and Edward Earle of Mancheſter, Lord Chamberlain of his M.ties Houſehold.

" In obedience to your lordſhips comandes ſignifyed unto mee on the ninth of this inſtant, July, do make a remembrance of the fees, profittes, and incidents, belongeinge to ye office of the Reuells. They are as followeth:

	£.	s.	d.
" For a new play, to bee brought with the booke - -	002	00	00
" For an old play, to be brought with the booke - -	001	00	00
" For Chriſtmaſſe fee - -	003	00	00
" For Lent fee - - -	003	00	00
" The profittes of a ſummers day play at the Black fryers, valued at	050	00	00
" The profitts of a winters day,[6] at Blackfryers - - -	050	00	00
" Beſides ſeuerall occaſionall gratuityes from the late K.ˢ company at B. fryers.			
" For a ſhare from each company of four companyes of players (beſides the late Kinges Company) valued at a 100l. a yeare, one yeare with another, beſides the uſuall fees, by the yeare - - - -	400	00	00

[6] It is extraordinary that the Maſter of the Revels ſhould have ventured to ſtate fifty pounds as the produce of each of the benefits given him by the king's company. We have ſeen (p. 289) that at an average they did not produce nine pounds each, and after a trial of ſome years he compounded with that company for the certain ſum of ten pounds for his winter's day, and the like ſum for his ſummer benefit.

	£. s. d.
" That the Kinges Company of players couenanted the 11th of Auguſt, 60, to pay Sir Henry Herbert per week, from that tyme, aboue the uſual fees -	004 00 00
" That Mr. William Beeſton couenanted to pay weekly to Sir Henry Herbert the ſumme of -	004 00 00
" That Mr. Rhodes promiſed the like per weeke - -	004 00 00

" That the 12l. per weeke from the three forenamed companyes hath been totally deteyned from Sir Henry Herbert ſince the ſaid 11th Aug. 60, by illegal and unjuſt means; and all uſual fees, and obedience due to the office of the Revells.

" That Mr. Thomas Killegrew drawes 19l. 6s. per week from the Kinges Company, as credibly informed.

" That Sir William Dauenant drawes 10 ſhares of 15 ſhares, which is valued at 200l. per week, cleer profitt, one week with another, as credibly informed.

" Allowance for charges of ſuites at law, for that Sir Henry Herbert is unjuſtly putt out of poſſeſſion and profittes, and could not obtaine an appearance gratis.

" Allowance for damages ſuſteyned in creditt and profittes for about two yeares ſince his Ma.ties happy Reſtauration.

" Allowance for their New Theatre to bee uſed as a playhouſe.

" Allowance for new and old playes acted by Sir William Dauenantes pretended company of players at Saliſbury Court, the Cockpitt, and now at Portugall Rowe, from the 5th Novemb. 60. the tyme of their firſt conjunction with Sir William Dauenant.

" Allowance for the fees at Chriſtmaſſe and at Lent from the ſaid tyme.

" A boxe for the Maſter of the Reuells and his company, gratis;—as accuſtomed.

" A ſubmiſſion to the authority of the Revells for the future, and that noe playes, new or old, bee acted, till they are allowed by the Maſter of the Reuells.

" That rehearſall of plays to be acted at court, be made, as hath been accuſtomed, before the Maſter of the Reuells, or allowance for them.

" Wherefore it is humbly pray'd, that delay being the ſaid Dauenants beſt plea, wh^ch^ he hath exerciſed by illegal actinges for almoſt two yeares, he may noe longer keep Sir Henry Herbert out of poſſeſſion of his rightes; but that your Lordſhippes would ſpeedily aſſert the rights due to the Maſter of the Reuells, and aſcertaine his fees and damages, and order obedience and payment accordingly. And in caſe of diſobedience by the ſaid Dauenant and his pretended company of players, that Sir Henry Herbert may bee at liberty to purſue his courſe at law, in confidence that he ſhall have the benefitt of his Ma.^ty^s juſtice, as of your lordſhippes fauour and promiſes in ſatisfaction, or liberty to proceed at law. And it may bee of ill conſequence that Sir Henry Herbert, dating for 45 yeares

meniall ſervice to the Royal Family, and hauing purchaſed Sir John Aſhley's intereſt in the ſaid office, and obtained of the late Kings bounty a grante under the greate ſeale of England for two liues, ſhould have noe other compenſation for his many yeares faithfull ſervices, and conſtant adherence to his Ma.ty's intereſt, accompanyed with his great ſufferinges and loſſes, then to bee outed of his juſt poſſeſſion, rightes and profittes, by Sir William Dauenant, a perſon who exerciſed the office of Maſter of the Reuells to Oliuer the Tyrant, and wrote *the Firſt and Second Parte of Peru*, acted at the Cockpitt, in Oliuers tyme, and ſoly in his fauour; wherein hee ſett of the juſtice of Oliuers actinges, by compariſon with the Spaniards, and endeavoured thereby to make Oliuers crueltyes appeare mercyes, in reſpect of the Spaniſh crueltyes; but the mercyes of the wicked are cruell.

" That the ſaid Dauenant publiſhed a poem in vindication and juſtification of Oliuers actions and gouernment, and an Epithalamium in praiſe of Olivers daughter M.s. Rich;—as credibly informed.[7]

" The matters of difference betweene M.r. Thomas Killegrew and Sir Henry Herbert are upon accommodation.

" My Lordes,

" Your Lordſhippes very humble Servant,

" July 11th 62.
Cary-houſe. HENRY HERBERT.

Another paper now before me will explain what is meant by Sir Henry Herbert's concluding words:

[7] This poem Sir William D'Avenant ſuppreſſed, for it does not appear in his works.

" ARTICLES of agreement, indented, made and agreed upon, this fourthe day of June, in the 14 yeare of the reigne of our ſouveraigne lord Kinge Charles the Second, and in the yeare of our Lord 1662, betweene Sir Henry Herbert of Ribsford in the county of Worceſter, knight, of the one part, and Thomas Killegrew of Couent Garden, Eſq. on the other parte, as followethe:

" *Imprimis*, It is agreed, that a firme amity be concluded for life betweene the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert and the ſaid Thomas Killegrew.

" *Item*, The ſaid Thomas Killegrew doth for himſelfe couenant, promiſe, grant, and agree, to paye or cauſe to be pay'd unto Sir Henry Herbert, or to his aſſignes, on or before the fourthe day of Auguſt next, all monies due to the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert from the Kinge and Queens company of players, called Mychaell Mohun, William Winterſhall, Robert Shaterell, William Cartwright, Nicholas Burt, Walter Clunn, Charles Hart, and the reſt of that company, for the new plaies at fortie ſhillings a play, and for the old reuiued plaies at twentie ſhillings a play, they the ſaid players haue acted ſince the eleuenthe of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord, 1660.

" *Item*, The ſaid Thomas Killegrew, Eſq. doth for himſelfe couenant, promiſe, grante, and agree, to paye or cauſe to be pay'd unto the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert, or to his aſſignes, on or before the fourthe day of Auguſt next, ſuch monies as are due to him for damages and loſſes obteyned at law ag.t Michaell Mohun, William Winterſhall, Robert Shaterell, William Cartwright, Nicholas Burt, Walter Clunn, and Charles Hart, upon an action of the caſe brought by the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert in the courte of Comon Pleas ag.t ye ſaid Mychael Mohun, William Winterſhall, Robert Shaterell,

William Cartwright, Nicholas Burt, Walter Clunn, and Charles Hart, wherupon a verdict hath been obtayned as aforeſaid ag.t them. And likewiſe doe promiſe and agree that the coſtes and charges of ſuite upon another action of the caſe brought by the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert, ag.t the ſaid Mychael Mohun & ye reſt of ye players aboue named, ſhall be alſo payd to the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert or to his aſſignes, on or before the ſaid fourthe day of Auguſt next.

" *Item*, The ſaid Thomas Killegrew doth for himſelfe couenant, promiſe, grante, and agree, that the ſaid Michaell Mohun and the reſt of the Kinge and Queenes company of players ſhall, on or before the ſaid fourthe day of Auguſt next, paye or cauſe to be pay'd unto the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert, or to his aſſignes, the ſum of fiftie pounds, as a preſent from them, for his damages ſuſteyned from them and by their means.

" *Item*, That the ſaid Thomas Killigrew, Eſq. doth couenant, promiſe, grante, and agree, to be aydinge and aſſiſtinge unto the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert in the due execution of the Office of the Reuells, and neither directly nor indirectly to ayde or aſſiſte Sir William Dauenant, Knight, or any of his pretended company of players, or any other company of players to be rays'd by him, or any other company of players whatſoever, in the due execution of the ſaid office as aforeſaide, ſoe as ye ayd ſoe to bee required of ye ſaid Thomas Killegrew extend not to ye ſilencing or oppreſſion of ye ſaid King and Queenes company.

" And the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert doth for himſelfe couenant, promiſe, grante, and agree, not to moleſt ye ſaid Thomas Killegrew, Eſq. or his heirs, in any ſuite at lawe or otherwiſe, to the preiudice of the grante made unto him by his Ma.tie, or to

diſturbe the receiuinge of ye profits aryſing by contract from the Kinge and Queens company of players to him, but to ayde and aſſiſte the ſaid Thomas Killegrew, in the due execution of the legall powers granted unto him by his Matie for the orderinge of the ſaid company of players, and in the levyinge and receiuinge of ye monies due to him the ſaid Thomas Killegrew, or which ſhall be due to him from y^e^ ſaide company of players by any contract made or to be made between them or amongſt the ſame; and neither directly nor indirectly to hinder the payment of y^e^ ſaid monies to be made weekly or otherwiſe by y^e^ ſaid company of players to y^e^ ſaid Thomas Killegrew, Eſq. or to his aſſignes, but to be ayding and aſſiſtinge to the ſaid Thomas Killegrew, Eſq. and his aſſignes therein, if there be cauſe for it, and that the ſaid Thomas Killegrew deſire it of y^e^ ſaid Sir Henry Herbert.

"And the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert doth for himſelfe couenant, promiſe, grante, and agree, upon the performance of the matters which are herein contayned, and to be performed by the ſaid Thomas Killegrew, accordinge to the daies of payment, and other things lymited and expreſſed in theſe articles, to deliver into the hands of y^e^ ſaid Thomas Killegrew the deede of couenants, ſealed and deliuered by the ſaid Mychaell Mohun and ye others herein named, bearing date the 11 Auguſt, 1660; to be cancelled by the ſaid Thomas Killegrew, or kept, as he ſhall thinke fitt, or to make what further advantage of the ſame in my name or right as he ſhall be adviſed."[8]

[8] On the back of this paper Sir Henry Herbert has written—"Copy of the Articles ſealed and delivered the 5th June, 62, between Sir H. H. and Thomas Killegrew. Bonds of 5000l. for the performance of covenants."

The actors who had performed at the Red Bull, acted under the direction of Mr. Killigrew during the years 1660, 1661, 1662, and part of the year 1663, in Gibbon's tennis-court in Vere-ſtreet, near Clare-market; during which time a new theatre was built for them in Drury Lane, to which they removed in April 1663. The following liſt of their ſtock-plays, in which it is obſervable there are but three of Shakſpeare, was found among the papers of Sir Henry Herbert, and was probably furniſhed by them ſoon after the Reſtoration.

" Names of the plays acted by the Red Bull actors.

The Humorous Lieutenant.
Beggars Buſhe.
Tamer Tamed.
The Traytor.
Loves Cruelty.
Wit without Money.
Maydes Tragedy.
Philaſter.
Rollo Duke of Normandy.
Claricilla.
Elder Brother.
The Silent Woman.
The Weddinge.
Henry the Fourthe.
Merry Wives of Windſor.
Kinge and no Kinge.
Othello.
Dumboys.
The Unfortunate Lovers.
The Widow.

Downes the prompter has given a liſt of what he calls the principal old ſtock plays acted by the king's ſervants, (which title the performers under Mr. Killegrew acquired,) between the time of the Reſtoration and the junction of the two companies in 1682; from which it appears that the only plays of Shakſpeare performed by them in that period, were *K. Henry IV.* P. I. *The Merry Wives of Windſor*, *Othello*, and *Julius Cæſar*. Mr. Hart repreſented Othello, Brutus, and Hotſpur; Major Mohun, Iago, and Caſſius; and Mr. Cartwright Falſtaff. Such was the lamentable taſte of thoſe times that the

plays of Fletcher, Jonſon and Shirley were much oftner exhibited than thoſe of our author. Of this the following liſt furniſhes a melancholy proof. It appears to have been made by Sir Henry Herbert in order to enable him to aſcertain the fees due to him, whenever he ſhould eſtabliſh his claims, which however he never accompliſhed. Between the play entitled *Argalus and Parthenia*, and *The Loyal Subject*, he has drawn a line; from which, and from other circumſtances, I imagine that the plays which I have printed in Italicks were exhibited by the Red Bull actors, who afterwards became the king's ſervants.

1660. Monday the 5 Nov. *Wit without money.*
Tueſday the 6 Nov. *The Traytor.*
Wenſday the 7 Nov. *The Beggars Buſhe.*
Thurſday the 8 Nov. *Henry the Fourth.*
[Firſt play acted at the new theatre.]
Friday the 9 Nov. *The Merry Wives of Windſor.*
Saturday the 10 Nov. *The Sylent Woman.*
Tuſday the 13 Nov. *Love lies a bleedinge.*
Thurſday the 15 Nov. *Loves Cruelty.*
Friday the 16 Nov. *The Widow.*
Saterday the 17 Nov. *The Mayds Tragedy.*
Monday the 19 Nov. *The Unfortunate Lovers.*
Tuſday the 20 Nov. *The Beggars Buſhe.*
Wenſday the 21 Nov. *The Scornfull Lady.*
Thurſday the 22 Nov. *The Traytor.*
Friday the 23 Nov. *The Elder Brother.*
Saterday the 24 Nov. *The Chances.*
Monday the 26 Nov. *The Opportunity.*
Thurſday the 29 Nov. *The Humorous Lieutenant.*
Saterday the 1 Dec. *Clarecilla.*
Monday the 3 Dec. *A Kinge and no Kinge.*

1660.	Thurſday the 6 Dec.	*Rollo, Duke of Normandy.*
	Saterday the 8 Dec.	*The Moore of Veniſe.*
	Monday the 9 Jan.	*The Weddinge.*
	Saterday the 19 Jan.	*The Loſt Lady.*
	Thurſday the 31 Jan.	*Argalus and Parthenia.*
		Loyal Subject.
	Feb. - - -	Mad Lover.
		The Wild-gooſe Chaſe.
1661.	March, April, May - -	All's Loſte by Luſte.
		The Mayd in the Mill.
		A Wife for a Monthe.
		The Bondman.
	Decemb. 10 -	A Dancing Maſter.
	Decemb. 11 -	Vittoria Corombona.
	Decemb. 13 -	The Country Captaine.
	Decemb. 16 -	The Alchymiſt.
	Decemb. 17 -	Bartholmew Faire.
	Decemb. 20 -	The Spaniſh Curate.
	Decemb. 23 -	The Tamer Tamed.
	Decemb. 28 -	Aglaura.
	Decemb. 30 -	Buſſy D'ambois.
	Janu. 6 - -	Mery Devil of Edmonton
	Jan. 10 - -	The Virgin Martyr.
	Jan. 11 - -	Philaſter.
	Jan. 21 - -	Jovial Crew.
	Jan. 28 - -	Rule a wife and have a wife.
	Feb. 15 - -	Kinge and no Kinge.
	Feb. 25 - -	The Mayds Tragedy.
	Feb. 27 - -	Aglaura; the tragicalway
	March 1 - -	Humorous Lieutenant.
	March 3 - -	Selindra—a new play.
	March 11 - -	The Frenche Dancing Maſter.
	March 15 - -	The Little Theef.

1662.	April 4 - -	Northerne Laſſe.
	April 19 - -	Fathers own ſon.
	April 25 - -	The Surpriſal—a new play.
	May 5 - -	Kt. of the Burning peſtle.
	May 12 - -	Brenoralt.
	May 17 - -	Love in a maze.
1661.	Octob. 26 - -	Loves Miſtreſs.
		Diſcontented Collonell.
		Love at firſt ſight.
1662.	June 1 - -	Cornelia, a new play.—Sir W. Bartleys.
	June 6 - -	Renegado.
	July 6 - -	The Brothers.
		The Antipodes.
	July 23 - -	The Cardinall.

From another liſt, which undoubtedly was made by Sir Henry Herbert for the purpoſe I have mentioned, I learn that *Macbeth* was revived in 1663 or 1664; I ſuppoſe as altered by D'Avenant.

" Nov. 3. 1663. *Flora's Figaries* -	£.	2.	- -
" A paſtoral called *The Expoſure* - -		2.	- -
" 8 more - - -		16.	- -
" A new play - -		1.	- -
" *Henry the 5th* - -		2.	- -
" Revived play. *Taming the Shrew* - -		1.	- -
" *The Generall* - -		2.	- -
" *Parſons Wedinge* -		2.	- -
" Revived play. *Macbeth*		1.	- -
" *K. Henry* 8. Revived play		1.	- -

" *Houſe to be let* - - 2. - -
" More for plays, whereof *Elvira* the laſt - } 9. - -

" For playes - £.41."

Sir William D'Avenant's Company, after having played for ſome time at the Cockpit in Drury-lane, and at Saliſbury-court, removed in March or April 1662, to a new theatre in Portugal-row, near Lincoln's-inn-fields. Mr. Betterton, his principal actor, we are told by Downes, was admired in the part of Pericles, which he frequently performed before the opening of the new theatre; and while this company continued to act in Portugal-row, they repreſented the following plays of Shakſpeare, and it ſhould ſeem thoſe only: *Macbeth* and *The Tempeſt*, altered by D'Avenant; *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, *King Henry the Eighth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Twelfth Night*. In *Hamlet*, the Prince of Denmark was repreſented by Mr. Betterton; the Ghoſt by Mr. Richards; Horatio by Mr. Harris; the Queen by Mrs. Davenport; and Ophelia by Mrs. Saunderſon. In *Romeo and Juliet*, Romeo was repreſented by Mr. Harris, Mercutio by Mr. Betterton, and Juliet by Mrs. Saunderſon. Mr. Betterton in *Twelfth Night* performed Sir Toby Belch, and in *Henry the Eighth*, the King. He was without doubt alſo the performer of King Lear. Mrs. Saunderſon repreſented Catharine in *King Henry the Eighth*, and it may be preſumed, Cordelia, and Miranda. She alſo performed Lady Macbeth, and Mr. Betterton Macbeth.

The theatre which had been erected in Portugal Row, being found too ſmall, Sir William D'Avenant laid the foundation of a new playhouſe in Dorſet Garden, near Dorſet Stairs, which however

he did not live to ſee completed; for he died in May 1668, and it was not opened till 1671. There being ſtrong reaſon to believe that he was our poet's ſon, I have been induced by that circumſtance to inquire with ſome degree of minuteneſs into his hiſtory. I have mentioned in a preceding page that the account given of him by Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, was taken from Mr. Aubrey's Manuſcript. Since that ſheet was printed, Mr. Warton has obligingly furniſhed me with an exact tranſcript of the article relative to D'Avenant, which, as it contains ſome particulars not noticed by Wood, I ſhall here ſubjoin:

" MS. Aubrey. Mus. Ashmol. Lives.

SIR WILLIAM DAVENANT, KNIGHT, POET-LAUREAT,[9]

was borne about the end of February in ——— ſtreet in the city of Oxford, at the Crowne Taverne; baptized 3 of March A. D. 1605-6. His father was John Davenant, a vintner there, a very grave and diſcreet citizen: his mother was a very beautiful woman, and of a very good witt, and of converſation extremely agreeable. They had 3 ſons, viz. Robert, William, and Nicholas; (Robert was a fellow of St. John's Coll. in Oxon. then preferd to the vicarage of Weſtkington by Bp. Davenant, whoſe chaplain he was; Nicholas was an attorney:) and 2 handſome daughters; one m. to Gabriel Bradly, B. D. of C. C. C. beneficed in the vale of White Horſe; another to Dr. Sherburne, miniſter

[9] Mr. Warton informs me, that " it appears by Aubrey's letters that this Life of Davenant was ſent to Wood, and drawn up at his requeſt."

of *Pembordge* [—bridge] in Heref. and canon of that church. Mr. Wm Shakſpeare was wont to goe into Warwickſhire once a yeare, and did comonly in his journey lie at this houſe in Oxon. where he was exceedingly reſpected. Now Sir William would ſometimes, when he was pleaſant over a glaſſe of wine with his moſt intimate friends, (*e. g.* Sam Butler, author of Hudibras, *etc. etc.*) ſay, that it ſeem'd to him, that he writt with the very ſpirit that Shakeſpeare [wrote with], and was contented enough to bee thought his ſon: he would tell them the ſtory as above. He went to ſchoole at Oxon. to Mr. Silveſter; Charles Wheare, F. [*filius*] Degorii W., was his ſchoolfellow: but I feare, he was drawne from ſchoole, before he was ripe enoughe. He was preferred to the firſt Dutcheſs of Richmond, to wayte on her as a page. I remember, he told me, ſhe ſent him to a famous apothecary for ſome unicorne's horne, which he was reſolved to try with a ſpyder, which he empaled in it, but without the expected ſucceſs: the ſpider would goe over and through and thorough, unconcerned. He was next a ſervant (as I remember, a page alſo) to Sir Fulke Grevil Ld Brookes, with whom he lived to his death; which was, that a ſervant of his that had long wayted on him, and his lor— [lordſhip] had often told him, that he would doe ſomething for him, but did not, but ſtill put him off with delay; as he was truſſing up his lord's pointes, comeing from ſtoole, [for then their breeches were faſtened to the doubletts with pointes; then came in hookes and eies, which not to have faſtened was in my boyhood a great crime,] ſtabbed him. This was at the ſame time that the duke of Buckingham was ſtabbed by Felton; and the great noiſe and report of the duke's, Sir W. told me, quite drown'd this of his lord's, that was

ſcarce taken notice of. This Sir Fulke G. was a good wit, and had been a good poet in his youth: he wrote a poeme in folio, which he printed not, till he was old, and then, as Sir W. ſaid, with too much judgement and refining ſpoiled it, which was at firſt a delicate thing. He [Dav.] writt a play, or plays, and verſes, which he did with ſo much ſweetneſſe and grace, that by it he got the love and friendſhip of his two Mæcenaces, Mr. Endymion Porter, and Mr. Henry Jermyn, [ſince E. of St. Albans] to whom he has dedicated his poem called Madegaſcar. Sir John Suckling was his great and intimate friend. After the death of Ben Johnſon, he was made in his place Poet Laureat. He got a terrible c—p of a black handſome wench, that lay in Axe-Yard, Weſtm.: whom he thought on, when he ſpeaks of Dalga, [in Gondibert] which coſt him his noſe; with which unlucky miſchance many witts were ſo cruelly bold, *e. g.* Sir John Menis, Sir John Denham, *etc. etc.* In 1641, when the troubles began, he was faine to fly into France, and at Canterbury he was ſeized on by the Mayor.

" For Will had in his face the flaws
" And markes received in country's cauſe.
" They flew on him like lyons paſſant,
" And tore his noſe, as much as was on't;
" And call'd him ſuperſtitious groome,
" And Popiſh dog, and cur of Rome.
" ——'twas ſurely the firſt time,
" That Will's religion was a crime."

" In the Civill Warres in England, he was in the army of William Marqueſſe of Newcaſtle, [ſince Duke] where he was generall of the ordinance. I have heard his brother Robert ſay, for that ſervice there was owing to him by King Charles the Firſt 10000l. During that warre 'twas his hap to have

two Aldermen of Yorke his priſoners, who were ſomethinge ſtubborne, and would not give the ranſome ordered by the councill of warre. Sir William uſed them civilly, and treated them in his tent, and ſate them at the upper end of his table *á la mode de France*. And having done ſo a good while to his charge, told them (privately and friendly) that he was not able to keepe ſo chargeable gueſts, and bade them take an opportunity to eſcape; which they did; but having been gon a little way, they conſidered with themſelves, that in gratitude they ought to goe back, and give Sir William their thankes, which they did: but it was like to have been to their great danger of being taken by the ſoldiers; but they happened to gett ſafe to Yorke.

" The king's party being overcome, Sir W. Davenant, (who had the honour of knighthood from the D. of Newcaſtle by commiſſion,) went into France, and reſided in Paris, where the Prince of Wales then was. He then began to write his romance in verſe called *Gondibert*; and had not writt above the firſt booke, but being very fond of it printed it, before a quarter finiſhed, with an epiſtle of his to Mr. Th. Hobbes, and Mr. Hobbes' excellent epiſtle to him printed before it. The courtiers, with the Prince of Wales, could never be at quiet about this piece, which was the occaſion of a very witty but ſatirical little booke of verſes in 8vo. about 4 ſheets, writt by G. D. of Bucks, Sir John Denham, *etc. etc.*

" That thou forſak'd thy ſleepe, thy diet,
" And what is more than that, our quiet."[2]

[2] Theſe lines are inaccurately quoted by memory from *Certain Verſes written by ſeveral of the author's friends, to be re-printed with the ſecond edition of Gondibert*, 1653.

" This laſt word, Mr. Hobbes told me, was the occaſion of their writing.

" Here he lay'd an ingenioſe deſigne to carry a conſiderable number of artificers (chiefly weavers) from hence to Virginia; and by Mary the Q's. mother's meanes he got favour from the K. of France to goe into the priſons, and pick and chuſe: ſo when the poor dammed wretches underſtood, what the deſigne was, they cryed *uno ore*, *tout tiſſeran*, we are all weavers. Well, 36, as I remember, he got, if not more, and ſhipped them; and as he was in his voyage towards Virginia, he and his *tiſſeran* were all taken by the ſhips then belonging to the parliament of England. The ſlaves, I ſuppoſe, they ſold, but Sir William was brought priſoner into England. Whether he was firſt a priſoner in Careſbroke Caſtle in the Iſle of Wight, or at the Towr of London, I have forgott; he was priſoner at both: his Gondibert was finiſhed at Careſbroke Caſtle. He expected no mercy from the parliament, and had no hopes of eſcaping with his life. It pleaſed God, that the two aldermen of Yorke aforeſaid, hearing that he was taken and brought to London to be tryed for his life, which they underſtood was in extreme danger, they were touched with ſo much generoſity and goodnes, as upon their own accounts and mere motion to try what they could to ſave Sir William's life, who had been ſo civil to them, and a means of ſaving theirs; to come to London; and acquainting the parliament with it, upon their petition, *etc.* Sir William's life was ſaved.[3] 'Twas

[3] Mr. Warton obſerves to me, that " Aubrey does not ſay here that *Milton* (with the two aldermen) was inſtrumental in ſaving D'Avenant's life. Dr. Johnſon is puzzled on what authority to fix this anecdote. *Life of Milton*, p. 181, 8vo. edit. I believe that anecdote was firſt retailed in print by Wood, *Ath. Oxon. II.* 412."

Harry Martyn, that ſaved Sir William's life in the houſe: when they were talking of ſacrificing one, then ſaid Hen. that 'in ſacrifices they always offered pure and without blemiſh; now ye talk of making a ſacrifice of an old rotten raſcal.' Vid. H. Martyn's life, where by this rare jeſt, then forgot, the L.d Falkland ſaved H. Martyn's life.

" Being freed from impriſonment, becauſe plays (ſcil. trage. and comedies) were in theſe preſbyterian times ſcandalous, he contrives to ſet up an opera, *ſtylo recitativo*; wherein Sergeant Maynard and ſeveral citizens were engagers: it began in Rutland Houſe in Charter-houſe-yard: next, ſcilicet anno—at the Cock-pit in Drury Lane, where were acted very well, *ſtylo recitativo*, *Sir Francis Drake*, and the *Siege of Rhodes*, 1ſt and 2nd part. It did affect the eie and eare extremely. This firſt brought SCENES in faſhion in England: before, at plays was *only an hanging*.[4]

" Anno Domini 1660, was the happy reſtauration of his Majeſty Charles IInd.; then was Sir William made — — — — — and the Tennis-Court in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields was turned into a playhouſe for the Duke of York's players, where Sir William had lodgings, and where he dyed, Aprill ——166—. I was at his funeral: he had a coffin of walnut tree: Sir John Denham ſaid, that it was the fineſt coffin that he ever ſaw. His body was carried in a hearſe from the playhouſe to Weſtminſter-Abbey, where at the great weſt dore he was received by the ſing [ing] men and choriſters, who ſang the ſervice of the church (*I am the Reſurrection, etc. etc.*) to his grave, which

[4] Here we have another and a deciſive confirmation of what has been ſtated in a former page on the ſubject of ſcenes. See p. 197, *et ſeq.*

is near to the monument of Dr. Iſaac Barrow, which is in the South Croſſe aiſle, on which in a paving ſtone of marble is writt, in imitation of that on Ben. Johnſon, O rare Sir William Davenant.

" His firſt lady was Dr. ———'s daughter, phyſitian, by whom he had a very beautiful and ingenioſe ſon, that dyed above twenty years ſince. His ſecond lady was daughter of ———, by whom he had ſeveral children. I ſaw ſome very young ones at the funerall. His eldeſt is Charles D'Avenant, the Doctor, who inherits his father's beauty and phancy. He practices at Doctor's Commons. He writt a play called *Circe*, which has taken very well. Sir William hath writt about 25 plays, the romance called *Gondibert*, and a little poem called *Madagaſcar*.

" His private opinion was, that religion at laſt [*e. g.* a hundred years hence] would come to ſettlement; and that in a kind of ingenioſe Quakeriſme."[s]

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[s] The following plays, written by Sir William D'Avenant, were licenſed by the Maſter of the Revels in the following order:

The Cruel Brother, Jan. 12, 1626-7.
The Colonel, July 22. 1629.
The Juſt Italian, Octob. 2, 1629.
The Wits, Jan. 19, 1633-4.
Love and Honour, Nov. 20, 1634.
News from Plymouth, Aug. 1, 1635.
Platonick Lovers, Nov. 16, 1635.
Britannia Triumphans, licenſed for preſs, Jan. 8, 1637.
Unfortunate Lovers, April 16, 1638.
Fair Favourite, Nov. 17, 1638.
The Spaniſh Lovers, Nov. 30, 1639.

This piece is probably the play which in his works is called *The Diſtreſſes*.

Love and Honour was originally called *The Courage of Love*. It

On the 9th of Novemb. 1671, D'Avenant's company removed to their new theatre in Dorſet

was afterwards named by Sir Henry Herbert, at D'Avenant's requeſt, *The Nonpareilles, or the Matchleſs Maids.*

In 1668 was publiſhed *Sir William D'Avenant's Voyage to the other World, with his Adventures in the Poet's Elizium*, written by Richard Flecknoe, which I ſubjoin to the memoirs of that poet. Conſiſting of only a ſingle ſheet, the greater part of the impreſſion has probably periſhed, for I have never met with a ſecond copy of this piece:

" Sir William D'Avenant being dead, not a poet would afford him ſo much as an elegie; whether becauſe he ſought to make a monopoly of the art, or ſtrove to become rich in ſpight of Minerva: it being with poets as with muſhrooms, which grow onely on barren ground, inrich the ſoyl once, and then degenerate: onely one, more humane than the reſt, accompany'd him to his grave with this eulogium:

' Now Davenant's dead, the ſtage will mourn,
' And all to barbariſm turn;
' Since he it was, this later age,
' Who chiefly civiliz'd the ſtage.

' Great was his wit, his fancy great,
' As e're was any poet's yet;
' And more advantage none e'er made
' O' th' wit and fancy which he had.

' Not onely Dedalus' arts he knew,
' But even Prometheus's too;
' And living machins made of men,
' As well as dead ones, for the ſcene.

' And if the ſtage or theatre be
' A little world, 'twas chiefly he,
' That, Atlas-like, ſupported it,
' By force of induſtry and wit.

' All this, and more, he did beſide,
' Which having perfected, he dy'd:
' If he may properly be ſaid
' To die, whoſe fame will ne'er be dead.'

" Another went further yet, and uſing the privilege of your antient poets, who with allmoſt as much certainty as your divines,

Gardens, which was opened, not with one of

can tell all that paſſes in the other world, did thus relate his voyage thither, and all his adventures in the poets' elyzium.

" As every one at the inſtant of their deaths, have paſſports given them for ſome place or other, he had his for the poets' elyzium; which not without much difficulty he obtained from the officers of Parnaſſus: for when he alledg'd, he was an heroick poet, they aſk'd him why he did not continue it? when he ſaid he was a dramatick too, they aſk'd him, why he left it off, and onely ſtudied to get mony; like him who ſold his horſe to buy him provender: and finally, when he added, he was a poet laureate, they laugh'd, and ſaid, bayes was never more cheap than now; and that ſince Petrarch's time, none had ever been legitimately crown'd.

" Nor had he leſs difficulty with Charon, who hearing he was rich, thought to make booty of him, and aſk'd an extraordinary price for his paſſage over; but coming to payment, he found he was ſo poor, as he was ready to turn him back agen, he having hardly ſo much as his *naulum*, or the price of every ordinary paſſenger.

" Being arriv'd, they were all much amaz'd to ſee him there, they having never heard of his being dead, neither by their weekly gazets, nor cryers of verſes and pamphlets up and down; (as common a trade there, almoſt as it is here:) nor was he leſs amaz'd than they, to find never a poet there, antient nor modern, whom in ſome ſort or other he had not diſoblig'd by his diſcommendations; as Homer, Virgil, Taſſo, Spencer, and eſpecially Ben. Johnſon; contrary to Plinies rule, never to diſcommend any of the ſame profeſſion with our ſelves: ' for either they are better or worſe than you (ſays he); if better, if they be not worthy commendations, you much leſs; if worſe, if they be worth commendations, you much more: ſo every ways advantagious 'tis for us to commend others.' Nay, even Shakeſpear, whom he thought to have found his greateſt friend, was as much offended with him as any of the reſt, for ſo ſpoiling and mangling of his plays. But he who moſt vext and tormented him, was his old antagoniſt Jack Donne, who mock'd him with a hundred paſſages out of Gondibert; and after a world of other railing and ſpightful language (at which the doctor was excellent) ſo exaſperated the knight, at laſt, as they fell together by the ears: when but imagine

' What tearing noſes had been there,
' Had they but noſes for to tear.' *

* John Donne, the eldeſt ſon of Donne the poet, was a Civilian. He is ſaid to have met with a misfortune ſimilar to that of D'Avenant.

Shakſpeare's plays, but with Dryden's comedy called *Sir Martin Marall.*[6]

" Mean time the comick poets made a ring about them, as boys do when they hiſs dogs together by the ears; till at laſt they were ſeparated by Pluto's officers, as diligent to keep the peace and part the fray, as your Italian Sbirri, or Spaniſh Alguazilo; and ſo they drag'd them both away, the doctor to the ſtocks, for raiſing tumult and diſturbances in hell, and the knight to the tribunal, where Minos, Æacus, and Rhadamanthus were to ſit in judgement on him, with Momus the common accuſer of the court.

" Here being arriv'd, and ſilence commanded, they aſk'd him his quality and profeſſion: to whom he anſwer'd, he was a Poet-laureate, who for poetry in general had not his fellow alive, and had left none to equal him now he was dead: and for eloquence,

" *How never any hyperbolies*
" *Were higher, or farther ſtretch'd than his;*
" *Nor ever compariſons again*
" *Made things compar'd more clear and plain.*

Then for his plays or dramatick poetry.

" *How that of* The Unfortunate Lovers
" *The depth of tragedy diſcovers;*
" *In's* Love and Honour *you might ſee*
" *The height of tragecomedy;*
" *And for his* Wits, *the comick fire*
" *In none yet ever flam'd up higher:*
" *But coming to his* Siege of Rhodes,
" *It outwent all the reſt by odds;*
" *And ſomewhat's in't, that does out-do*
" *Both th' antients and the moderns too.*

" To which Momus anſwered: that though they were never ſo good, it became not him to commend them as he did; that there were faults enough to be found in them; and that he had mar'd more good plays, than ever he had made; that all his wit lay in hyperbolies and compariſons, which, when acceſſory, were commendable enough, but when principal, deſerved no great commendations; that his muſe was none of the nine, but onely a

[6] The building, ſcenes, &c. of that theatre coſt 5000l. according to a ſtatement given in a petition preſented to Queen Anne about the year 1709, by Charles D'Avenant, Charles Killegrew, Chriſtopher Rich, and others.

Between the year 1671 and 1682, when the King's and the Duke of York's ſervants united, (about

mungril, or by-blow of Parnaſſus, and her beauty rather ſophiſticate than natural; that he offer'd at learning and philoſophy, but as pullen and ſtubble geeſe offer'd to fly, who after they had flutter'd up a while, at length came fluttering down as faſt agen; that he was with his high-ſounding words, but like empty hogſheads, the higher they ſounded, the emptier ſtill they were; and that, finally, he ſo perplex'd himſelf and readers with parentheſis on parentheſis, as, juſt as in a wilderneſs or labyrinth, all ſenſe was loſt in them.

" As for his life and manners, they would not examine thoſe, ſince 'twas ſuppos'd they were licentious enough: onely he wou'd ſay,

" *He was a good companion for*
" *The rich, but ill one for the poor;*
" *On whom he look'd ſo, you'd believe*
" *He walk'd with a face negative:*
" *Whilſt he muſt be a lord at leaſt,*
" *For whom he'd ſmile or break a jeaſt.*

" And though this, and much more, was exaggerated againſt him by Momus, yet the judges were ſo favourable to him, becauſe he had left the muſes for Pluto, as they condemned him onely to live in Pluto's court, to make him and Proſerpina merry with his facetious jeaſts and ſtories; with whom in ſhort time he became ſo gracious, by complying with their humours, and now and then dreſſing a diſh or two of meat for them,* as they joyn'd him in patent with Momus, and made him ſuperintendent of all their ſports and recreations: ſo as, onely changing place and perſons, he is now in as good condition as he was before; and lives the ſame life there, as he did here.

" POSTSCRIPT.

" *To the Actors of the Theatre in Lincolns-Inn-Fields.*

" I promiſed you a ſight of what I had written of Sir William D'Avenant, and now behold it here: by it you will perceive how much they abuſed you, who told you it was ſuch an abuſive thing. If you like it not, take heed hereafter how you diſoblige him, who can not onely write for you, but againſt you too.

" RICH. FLECKNOE."

* This ſeems to allude to a fact then well known. D'Avenant was probably admitted to the private ſuppers of Charles the Second.

which time Charles Hart,[7] the principal ſupport of the former company, died,) *King Lear, Timon of*

[7] From the preface to Settle's *Fatal Love*, 1680, it ſhould ſeem that he had then retired from the ſtage, perhaps in the preceding year; for in the prologue to *The Ambitious Stateſman*, 1679, are theſe lines, evidently alluding to him and Mr. Mohun:

"The time's neglect and maladies have thrown
"The two great pillars of our playhouſe down."

Charles Hart, who, I believe, was our poet's great nephew, is ſaid to have been Nell Gwin's firſt lover, and was the moſt celebrated tragedian of his time.

"What Mr. Hart delivers, (ſays Rymer,) every one takes upon content; their eyes are prepoſſeſſed and charmed by his action before aught of the poet's can approach their ears; and to the moſt wretched of characters he gives a luſtre and brilliant, which dazzles the ſight, that the deformities in the poetry cannot be perceived." "Were I a poet, (ſays another contemporary writer,) nay a Fletcher, a Shakſpeare, I would quit my own title to immortality, ſo that one actor might never die. This I may modeſtly ſay of him, (nor is it my particular opinion, but the ſenſe of all mankind,) that the beſt tragedies on the Engliſh ſtage have received their luſtre from Mr. Hart's performance; that he has left ſuch an impreſſion behind him, that no leſs than the interval of an age can make them appear again with half their majeſty from any ſecond hand."

In a pamphlet entitled *The Life of the late famous Comedian*, J. Hayns, 8vo. 1701, a characteriſtick trait of our poet's kinſman is preſerved:

"About this time [1673] there happened a ſmall pick between Mr. Hart and Jo, upon the account of his late negociation in France,* and there ſpending the company ſo much money to ſo little purpoſe, or, as I may more properly ſay, to no purpoſe at all.

"There happened to be one night a play acted called *Catiline's Conſpiracy*, wherein there was wanting a great number of ſenators. Now Mr. Hart, being chief of the houſe, would oblige Jo to dreſs for one of theſe ſenators, although his ſalary, being 50s. per week, freed him from any ſuch obligation.

"But Mr. Hart, as I ſaid before, being ſole governour of the play-houſe, and at a ſmall variance with Jo, commands it, and the other muſt obey.

* Soon after the theatre in Drury Lane was burnt down, Jan. 1671-2, Hayns had been ſent to Paris by Mr. Hart and Mr. Killigrew, to examine the machinery employed in the French Operas.

Athens, *Macbeth*, and *The Tempeſt*, were the only plays of our author that were exhibited at the theatre in Dorſet Gardens; and the three latter were not repreſented in their original ſtate, but as altered by D'Avenant[8] and Shadwell. Between 1682 and 1695, when Mr. Congreve, Mr. Betterton, Mrs. Barry, and Mrs. Bracegirdle, obtained

" Jo, being vexed at the ſlight Mr. Hart had put upon him, found out this method of being revenged on him. He gets a Scaramouch dreſs, a large full ruff, makes himſelf whiſkers from ear to ear, puts on his head a long Merry Andrew's cap, a ſhort pipe in his mouth, a little three-legged ſtool in his hand; and in this manner follows Mr. Hart on the ſtage, ſets himſelf down behind him, and begins to ſmoke his pipe, laugh, and point at him. Which comical figure put all the houſe in an uproar, ſome laughing, ſome clapping, and ſome hollaing. Now Mr. Hart, as thoſe who knew him can aver, was a man of that exactneſs and grandeur on the ſtage, that let what would happen, he'd never diſcompoſe himſelf, or mind any thing but what he then repreſented; and had a ſcene fallen behind him, he would not at that time look back, to have ſeen what was the matter; which Jo knowing, remained ſtill ſmoaking: the audience continued laughing, Mr. Hart acting, and wondering at this unuſual occaſion of their mirth; ſometimes thinking it ſome diſturbance in the houſe, again that it might be ſomething amiſs in his dreſs: at laſt turning himſelf toward the ſcenes, he diſcovered Jo in the aforeſaid poſture; whereupon he immediately goes off the ſtage, ſwearing he would never ſet foot on it again, unleſs Jo was immediately turned out of doors, which was no ſooner ſpoke, but put in practice."

[8] The tragedy of *Macbeth*, altered by Sir William D'Avenant, being dreſt in all its finery, as new cloaths, new ſcenes, machines, as flyings for the witches, with all the ſinging and dancing in it, (the firſt compoſed by Mr. Lock, the other by Mr. Channel and Mr. Joſeph Prieſt,) it being all excellently performed, *being in the nature of an opera*, it recompenced double the expence: it proves ſtill a laſting play." *Roſcius Anglicanus*, p. 33. 8vo. 1708.

" In 1673, *The Tempeſt or the Inchanted Iſland*, made into an opera by Mr. Shadwell, having all new in it, as ſcenes, machines; one ſcene painted with myriads of aerial ſpirits, and another flying away, with a table furniſhed out with fruits, ſweatmeats, and all ſorts of viands, juſt when duke Trinculo and his company were going to dinner; all things were performed in it ſo admirably well, that not any ſucceeding opera got more money." *Ibidem*, p. 34.

a licence to open a new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, *Othello*, *A Midſummer Night's Dream*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*, are the only plays of Shakſpeare which Downes the prompter mentions, as having been performed by the united companies: *A Midſummer Night's Dream* was transformed into an opera, and *The Taming of the Shrew* was exhibited as altered by Lacy. Dryden's *Troilus and Creſſida*, however, the two parts of *King Henry IV.* *Twelfth Night*, *Macbeth*, *King Henry VIII.* *Julius Cæſar*, and *Hamlet*, were without doubt ſometimes repreſented in the ſame period: and Tate and Durfey furniſhed the ſcene with miſerable alterations of *Coriolanus*, *King Richard II.* *King Lear*, and *Cymbeline*.[9] Otway's *Caius Marius*, which was produced in 1680, uſurped the place of our poet's *Romeo and Juliet* for near ſeventy years, and Lord Lanſdown's *Jew of Venice* kept poſſeſſion of the ſtage from the time of its firſt exhibition in 1701, to the year 1741. Dryden's *All for Love*, from 1678 to 1759, was performed inſtead of our author's *Antony and Cleopatra*; and D'Avenant's alteration of *Macbeth* in like manner was preferred to our author's tragedy, from its firſt exhibition in 1663, for near eighty years.

In the year 1700 Cibber produced his alteration of *King Richard III.* I do not find that this play, which was ſo popular in Shakſpeare's time, was performed from the time of the Reſtoration to the end of the laſt century. The play with Cibber's alterations was once performed at Drury Lane in

[9] *King Richard II.* and *King Lear* were produced by Tate in 1681, before the union of the two companies; and *Coriolanus*, under the title of *The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth*, in 1682. In the ſame year appeared Durfey's alteration of *Cymbeline*, under the title of *The Injured Princeſs*.

1703, and lay dormant from that time to the 28th of Jan. 1710, when it was revived at the Opera Houſe in the Haymarket; ſince which time it has been repreſented, I believe, more frequently than any of our author's dramas, except *Hamlet*.

On April 23, 1704, *The Merry Wives of Windſor*, by command of the Queen, was performed at St. James's, by the actors of both houſes, and afterwards publickly repreſented at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, May 18, in the ſame year, by Mr. Betterton's company; but although the whole force of his company was exerted in the repreſentation, the piece had ſo little ſucceſs, that it was not repeated till Nov. 3, 1720, when it was again revived at the ſame theatre, and afterwards frequently performed.

From 1709, when Mr. Rowe publiſhed his edition of Shakſpeare, the exhibition of his plays became much more frequent than before. Between that time and 1740, our poet's *Hamlet*, *Julius Cæſar*, *King Henry VIII.* *Othello*, *King Richard III.* *King Lear*, and the two parts of *King Henry IV.* were very frequently exhibited. Still, however, ſuch was the wretched taſte of the audiences of thoſe days, that in many inſtances the contemptible alterations of his pieces were preferred to the originals. Durfey's *Injured Princeſs*, which had not been acted from 1697, was again revived at Drury Lane, October 5, 1717, and afterwards often repreſented. Even Ravenſcroft's *Titus Andronicus*, in which all the faults of the original are greatly aggravated, took its turn on the ſcene, and after an intermiſſion of fifteen years was revived at Drury Lane in Auguſt 1717, and afterwards frequently performed both at that theatre and the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where it was exhibited for the firſt time, Dec. 21, 1720. *Coriolanus*, which

had not been acted for twenty years, was revived at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, Dec. 13, 1718; and in Dec. 1719, *King Richard II.* was revived at the ſame theatre: but probably neither of theſe plays was then repreſented as originally written by Shakſpeare.[2] *Meaſure for Meaſure*, which had not been acted, I imagine, from the time of the ſuppreſſion of the theatres in 1642,[3] was revived at the ſame theatre, Dec. 8, 1720, for the purpoſe of producing Mr. Quin in the character of the Duke, which he frequently performed with ſucceſs in that and the following years. *Much Ado about Nothing*, which had not been acted for thirty years, was revived at Lincoln's Inn Fields, Feb. 9, 1721; but after two repreſentations, on that and the following evening, was laid aſide. In Dec. 1723, *King Henry V.* was announced for repreſentation, "on Shakſpeare's foundation," and performed at Drury Lane ſix times in that month; after which we hear of it no more: and on Feb. 26, 1737, *King John* was revived at Covent Garden. Neither of theſe plays, I believe, had been exhibited from the time of the downfall of the ſtage. At the ſame theatre our poet's ſecond part of *King Henry IV.* which had for fifty years been driven from the ſcene by the play which Mr. Betterton ſubſtituted in its place, reſumed its ſtation, being produced at Covent Garden, Feb. 16, 1738; and on the 23d of the ſame month Shakſpeare's *K. Henry V.* was performed there as originally written, after an interval, if the theatrical advertiſement be

[2] In the theatrical advertiſement, Feb. 6, 1738, *King Richard II.* (which was then produced at Covent Garden,) was ſaid not to have been acted for *forty* years.

[3] On the revival of this play in 1720, it was announced as not having been acted for *twenty* years; but the piece which had been performed in the year 1700, was not Shakſpeare's, but Gildon's.

correct, of forty years. In the following March the ſame company once exhibited *the Firſt Part of King Henry VI.* for the firſt time, as they aſſerted, for fifty years.[4] *As you like it* was announced for repreſentation at Drury Lane, December 20, 1740, as not having been acted for forty years, and repreſented twenty-ſix times in that ſeaſon. At Goodman's Fields, Jan. 15, 1741, *The Winter's Tale* was announced, as not having been acted for one hundred years; but was not equally ſucceſsful, being only performed nine times. At Drury Lane, Feb. 14, 1741, *The Merchant of Venice*, which, I believe, had not been acted for one hundred years, was once more reſtored to the ſcene by Mr. Macklin, who on that night firſt repreſented Shylock; a part which for near fifty years he has performed with unrivalled ſucceſs. In the following month the company at Goodman's Fields endeavoured to make a ſtand againſt him by producing *All's well that ends well*, which, they aſſerted, "had not been acted ſince Shakſpeare's time." But the great theatrical event of this year was the appearance of Mr. Garrick at the theatre in Goodman's Fields, Oct. 19, 1741; whoſe good taſte led him to ſtudy the plays of Shakſpeare with more aſſiduity than any of his predeceſſors. Since that time, in conſequence of Mr. Garrick's admirable performance of many of his principal characters, the frequent repreſentation of his plays in nearly their original ſtate, and above all, the various reſearches which have been made for the purpoſe of explaining and illuſtrating his works, our poet's reputation has been yearly increaſing, and is now fixed upon a

[4] *King Henry VI.* altered from Shakſpeare by Theophilus Cibber, was performed by a ſummer company at Drury Lane, July 5, 1723; but it met with no ſucceſs, being repreſented only once.

baſis, which neither the lapſe of time nor the fluctuation of opinion will ever be able to ſhake. Here therefore I conclude this imperfect account of the origin and progreſs of the Engliſh Stage.

ADDITIONS.

Historical Account of the English Stage.

JUST as this work was iſſuing from the preſs, ſome curious Manuſcripts relative to the ſtage, were found at Dulwich College, and obligingly tranſmitted to me from thence. One of theſe is a large folio volume of accounts kept by Mr. Philip Henſlowe, who appears to have been proprietor of the Rose Theatre near the Bankſide in Southwark.

The celebrated player Edward Alleyn, who has erroneouſly been ſuppoſed by Mr. Oldys, the writer of his life in the *Biographia Britannica*, to have had three wives, was married, as appears from an entry in this book, to Joan Woodward, on the 22d of October, 1592, at which time he was about twenty-ſix years old. This lady, who died in 1623, was the daughter of Agnes, the widow of —— Woodward, whom Mr. Philip Henſlowe, after the death of Woodward, married: ſo that Mr. Henſlowe was not, as has been ſuppoſed, Alleyn's father-in-law, but only ſtep-father to his wife.

This MS. contains a great number of curious notices relative to the dramatick poets of the time, and their productions, from the year 1597 to 1603, during which time Mr. Henſlowe kept an exact account of all the money which he diſburſed for the various companies of which he had the management, for copies of plays and the apparel which he bought for their repreſentation. I find here notices of a great number of plays now loſt, with the authors' names, and ſeveral entries that tend to throw a light on various particulars which have been diſcuſſed in the preceding *Hiſtory of the Engliſh Stage*, as well as the *Eſſay on the order of time in which Shakſpeare's plays were written*. A ſtill more curious part of this MS. is a regiſter of all the plays performed by the ſervants of Lord Strange, and the Lord Admiral, and by other companies, between the 19th of February 1591-2, and November 5, 1597. This regiſter ſtrongly confirms the conjectures that have been hazarded relative to *The Firſt Part of King Henry VI.* and the play which I have ſuppoſed to have been written on the ſubject of *Hamlet*. In a bundle of looſe papers has alſo been found an exact Inventory of the Wardrobe, play-books, properties, &c. belonging to the Lord Admiral's ſervants.

Though it is not now in my power to arrange theſe very curious materials in their proper places, I am unwilling that the publick ſhould be deprived of the information and entertainment which they may afford; and therefore ſhall extract from them all ſuch notices as appear to me worthy of preſervation.

In the regiſter of plays the ſame piece is frequently repeated: but of theſe repetitions I have taken no notice, having tranſcribed only the ac-

count of the firſt repreſentation of each piece, with the ſum which Mr. Henſlowe gained by it.[5]

By the ſubſequent repreſentations, ſometimes a larger, and ſometimes a leſs, ſum, was gained. The figures within crotchets ſhew how often each piece was repreſented within the time of each account.

[5] It is clear from ſubſequent entries made by Mr. Henſlowe that the ſums in the margin oppoſite to each play, were not the total receipts of the houſe, but what he received as a proprietor from either half or the whole of the galleries, which appear to have been appropriated to him to reimburſe him for expences incurred for dreſſes, copies, &c. for the theatre. The profit derived from the rooms or boxes, &c. was divided among ſuch of the players as poſſeſſed *ſhares*. In a ſubſequent page I find—"Here I begynne to receve the *whole gallereys* from this day, beinge 29 of July, 1598." At the bottom of the account, which ends Oct. 13, 1599, is this note: "Received with the company of my lord of Nottinghams men, to this place, being the 13 of October 1599, and yt doth apeare that I have received of the *deate* which they owe unto me, iij hundred fiftie and eyght pounds."

Again: "Here I begane to receive the gallereys agayne, which they received, begynninge at Mihellmas weeke, being the 6 of October, 1599, as followeth."

Again: "My lord of Pembrokes men beganne to playe at the Roſe, the 28 of October, 1600, as followeth:

	l.	*d.*
"R. at *licke unto licke*,	11.	6.
"R. at *Raderick*———	v.	—."

Five ſhillings could not poſſibly have been the total receipt of the houſe, and therefore muſt have been that which the proprietor received on his ſeparate account.

"*In the name of God, Amen*, 1591, *beginninge the* 19 *of febreary my g.* lord Stranges men, *as followeth*, 1591:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
R. at *fryer bacone*,[6] the 19 of febreary, (ſaterday) [4]	o.	xvii.	iii.
—— *mulomurco*,[7] the 20 of febr. [11] - -	o.	xxix.	o.
—— *orlando*,[8] the 21 of febreary [1] - -	o.	xvi.	vi.
—— ſpanes (Spaniſh) comedye *don oracio* (Don Horatio) the 23 of febreary, [3]	o.	xiii.	vi.
—— *Syr John mandeville*, the 24 of febreary, [5]	o.	xii.	vi.
—— *harey of cornwell*, (Henry of Cornwall) the 25 of febreary 1591, [3] -	o.	xxxii.	o.
—— *the Jew of malltuſe*, (Malta) the 26 of febreary 1591, [10] - -	o.	l.	o.
—— *clorys and orgaſto* the 28 of febreary 1591, [1]	o.	xviii.	o.
—— *poope Jone*, the 4 of marche 1591, [1] -	o.	xv.	o.
—— *matchavell*, the 2 of marche 1591, [3] -	o.	xiii.	o.
—— *henery the vi.*[9] the 3 of marche 1591, [13]	iii.	vi.	8.

[6] *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, by Robert Greene.

[7] In a ſubſequent entry called *Mulamulluco*. The play meant was probably *The Battle of Alcazar*. See the firſt ſpeech:

"This brave barbarian lord, *Muly Molocco*," &c.

[8] *Orlando Furioſo*, by Robert Greene, printed in 1599.

[9] In the *Diſſertation on the three parts of K. Henry VI*, I conjectured that the piece which we now call *The* firſt *part of King*

	l.	s.	d.
R. at *bendo*[2] *and Richardo*, the 4 of marche 1591, [3]	o.	xvi.	o.
—— *iiii playes in one*,[3] the 6 of marche 1591, [4]	iii.	xi.	o.
—— *the looking glaſs*,[4] the 8 of marche 1591, [4]	o.	vii.	o.
—— *ſenobia* (Zenobia) the 9 of marche 1591, [1]	o.	xxii.	vi.
—— *Jeronimo*, the 14 of marche 1591 [14] -	iii.	xi.	o.
—— *conſtantine*, the 21 of marche 1591, [1] -	o.	xii.	o.
—— *Jeruſalem*,[5] the 22 of marche 1591, [2] -	o.	xviii.	o.
—— *brandymer*, the 6 of aprill 1591, [2] -	o.	xxii.	o.
—— *the comedy of Jeronimo*, the 10 of April 1591, [4]	o.	xxviii.	o.
—— *Titus and Veſpaſian*, (Titus Veſpaſian) the 11 of Aprill 1591, [7] -	iii.	iiii.	o.

Henry VI. was, when firſt performed, called *The play of King Henry VI.* We find here that ſuch was the fact. This play, which I am confident was not originally the production of Shakſpeare, but of another poet, was extremely popular, being repreſented in this ſeaſon between March 3 and June 19, [1592] no leſs than thirteen times. Hence Naſhe in a pamphlet publiſhed in this year, ſpeaks of ten thouſand ſpectators that had ſeen it. See *Diſſertation*, &c. Vol. X. p. 423.

[2] Afterwards written *Byndo*.

[3] This could not have been the piece called *All's one, or four plays in one*, of which *The Yorkſhire Tragedy* made a part, becauſe the fact on which that piece is founded happened in 1605.

[4] *The Looking glaſs for London and England*, by Robert Greene and Thomas Lodge, printed in 1598.

[5] Probably *The Deſtruction of Jeruſalem*, by Dr. Thomas Legge. See Wood's *Faſt. Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 133.

	l.	s.	d.
R. at *the ſeconde pte of tamber-zanne;* (Tamberlane) the 28 of april 1592, [5]	iii.	iiii.	o.
—— *the tanner of Denmarke,* the 28 of maye 1592, [1]	iii.	xiii.	o.
—— *a knacke to know a knave,*[6] 10 day [of June] 1592, [3]	iii.	xii.	o.

" *In the name of God Amen,* 1592, *beginning the* 29 *of Deſember.*

	l.	s.	d.
R. at *the gelyons comedey* (Julian of Brentford) the 5 of Jenewary 1592, [1] -	o.	xxxxiiii.	o.
—— *the comedy of coſmo,* the 12 Jenewary 1592, [2] -	o.	xxxx.	iiii.
—— *the tragedey of the guyes,*[7] 30 of Jenewary,[8] [1] -	iii.	iiii.	o.

" *In the name of God, Amen, beginning the* 27 *of Deſember* 1593, *the earle of Suſſex his men.*

	l.	s.	d.
R. at *God ſpede the plough,* [2]	iii.	i.	o.
—— *hewen of Burdocks,* (Huon of Bourdeaux) the 28 of Deſember 1593, [3] -	iii.	x.	o.
—— *george a-green,*[9] the 28 of Deſember 1593, [4] -	iii.	x.	o.
—— *buckingham,* the 30 of December 1593, [4] -	o.	li.	o.

[6] Printed in 1594.

[7] Probably *The Maſſacre of Paris,* by Chriſtopher Marlowe.

[8] In conſequence of the great plague in the year 1593, all theatrical entertainments were forbid.

[9] This play is printed.

	l.	s.	d.
R. at *Richard the Confeſſor*,[3] the 31 of Deſember 1593, [2]	o.	xxxviii.	o.
—— *william the konkerer*, the 4 of Jenewary 1593, [1]	o.	xxii.	o.
—— *frier francis*, the 7 of Jenewary 1593, [3] -	iii.	i.	o.
—— *the piner of wakefeild*,[4] the 8 of Jenewary 1593, [1]	o.	xxiii.	o.
—— *abrame & lotte*, the 9 of Jenewary 1593, [3] -	o	lii.	o.
—— *the fayre mayd of ytale* (Italy) the 12 of Jenewary 1593, [2] - -	o.	ix.	o.
—— *King lude*, (Lud) the 18 of Jenewary 1593, [1]	o.	xxii.	o.
—— *titus and andronicus*,[5] the 23 of Jenewary, [3] -	iii.	viii.	o.

« *In the name of God, Amen, beginninge at eaſter, the* queenes men and my lord of Suſſex *together.*

	l.	s.	d.
R. at *the Rangers comedy*, 2 of April 1593, [1] -	iii.	o.	o.
—— *kinge leare*,[6] the 6 of April 1593, [2][7] -	o.	xxxviii.	o.

[3] This piece ſhould ſeem to have been written by the tinker in *Taming of the Shrew*, who talks of *Richard Conqueror*.

[4] This play was printed in 1599.

[5] The manager of this theatre, who appears to have been extremely illiterate, has made the ſame miſtake in the play of *Titus and Veſpaſian*. There can be no doubt that this was the original piece, before our poet touched it. At the ſecond repreſentation Mr. Henſlowe's ſhare was forty ſhillings; at the third, the ſame ſum.

[6] This old play was entered on the Stationers' books in the following year, and publiſhed in 1605; but the bookſeller, that it

"*In the name of God, Amen, beginninge the* 14 *of maye* 1594, *by my* lord admiralls men.

R. at *Cutlacke*, the 16 of maye 1594, [1][8]	l.	s.	d.
-	o.	xxxxii.	o.

"*In the name of God, Amen, beginning at* newington,[9] *my* lord admirell men, *and* my lord chamberlen men, *as followeth*, 1594.

R. the 3 of June 1594, at *heaſter and aſheweros*,[2] [2]	l.	s.	d.
-	o.	viii.	o.
—— 5 of June 1594, at *andronicus*, [2] -	o.	xii.	o.
—— 6 of June 1594, at *cutlacke*, [12] - -	o.	xi.	o.
—— 8 of June, at *bellendon*, [17]	o.	xvii.	o.
—— 9 of June 1594, at *hamlet*,[3] [1] - -	o.	viii.	o.

might be miſtaken for Shakſpeare's, took care not to mention by whoſe ſervants it had been performed.

[7] Five other old plays were repreſented, whoſe titles have been already given.

[8] Two other old plays, whoſe titles have been already given, on the 14th and 15th of May.

[9] Howes in his Continuation of Stowe's *Chronicle*, 1631, mentions among the ſeventeen theatres which had been built within ſixty years, "one in former time at *Newington Butts*."

[2] *Heſter and Abaſuerus*.

[3] In the *Eſſay on the Order of Shakſpeare's Plays*, I have ſtated my opinion, that there was a play on the ſubject of *Hamlet*, prior to our author's; and here we have a full confirmation of that conjecture. It cannot be ſuppoſed that our poet's play ſhould have been performed but once in the time of this account, and that Mr. Henſlowe ſhould have drawn from ſuch a piece but the ſum of eight ſhillings, when his ſhare in ſeveral other plays came to three and ſometimes four pounds. It is clear that not one of our author's

	l.	s.	d.
R. the 11 of June 1594, at *the taminge of a ſhrewe*,[4] [1]	o.	ix.	o.
—— 12 of June 1594, at *the Jew of malta*, [18] -	iiii.	o.	o.
—— 18 of June 1594, at *the rangers comedy*, [10] -	o	xxii.	o.
—— 19 of June, at *the guies*,[5] [10] - -	o.	liii.	o.
—— 26 of June 1594, at *galiaſe*,[6] [9] - -	iii.	o.	o.
—— 9 of July 1594, at *phillipo* and *hewpolyto*,[7] [12]	iii.	o.	o.
—— 19 of July 1594, at the 2 *pte of Godfrey of Bullen*, [11] - -	iii.	o.	o.
—— 30 of July 1594, at *the marchant of camdew*,[8] [1]	iii.	viii.	o.
—— 12 of Auguſt 1594, at *taſſoes mellencoley*,[9] [13] -	l. iii.	s. o.	d. o.

plays was played at Newington Buts; if one had been performed, we ſhould certainly have found more. The old *Hamlet* had been on the ſtage before 1589; and to the performance of the ghoſt in this piece in the ſummer of 1594, without doubt it is, that Dr. Lodge alludes, in his *Wits Miſerie*, &c. 4to. 1596, when he ſpeaks of "a foul lubber, who looks as pale as the vizard of the ghoſt, who cried ſo miſerably at the theatre, *Hamlet, revenge.*"

[4] The play which preceded Shakſpeare's. It was printed in 1607. There is a ſlight variation between the titles; our poet's piece being called *The Taming of* the *Shrew*.

[5] *The Guiſe*. It is afterwards called *The Maſacre*, i. e. *The Maſſacre of Paris*, by Chriſtopher Marlowe.

[6] Q. *Julius Cæſar*.

[7] This is probably the play which a knaviſh bookſeller above ſixty years afterwards entered on the Stationers' books as the production of Philip Maſſinger. See p. 377, n. 3.

[8] Q. — of *Candia*.

[9] *Taſſo's Melancholy*. "I rather ſpited than pitied him, (ſays

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
R. the 15 of Auguſt 1594, at *mahomett*,[2] [8] - -	iii.	v.	o.
—— 25 of Auguſt 1594, at *the veneſyan* (Venetian) *comedy*, [11] - -	o.	l.	vi.
—— 28 of Auguſt 1594, at *tamberlen*, [23] -	iii.	xi.	o.
—— 17 of ſeptember 1594, at *palamon & arſett*,[3] [4]	o	li.	o.
—— 24 of ſeptember 1594, at *Veneſyon & the love of and* [an] *Ingleſhe lady*, [1]	o.	xxxxvii.	o.
—— 30 of ſeptember 1594, at *docter ffoſtoſſe*,[4] [24]	iii.	xii.	o.
—— 4 of october 1594, at *the love of a greſyan lady*, [12]	o.	xxvi.	o.
—— 18 of october 1594, at *the frenſhe docter*, [11] -	o	xxii.	o.
—— 22 of october 1594, at *a knacke to know a noneſte*,[5] [19] - -	o.	xxxx.	o.
—— 8 of november, 1594, at *ceſer & pompie*,[6] [8]	iii.	ii.	o.

old Montagne,) when I ſaw him at Ferrara, in ſo piteous a plight, that he ſurvived himſelfe, mis-acknowledging both himſelfe and his labours, which, unwitting to him and even to his face, have been publiſhed both uncorrected and maimed." Florio's tranſlation, 1603.

[2] Probably Peele's play, entitled *Mahomet and Hiren, the fair Greek*. See Vol. IX. p. 88, n. 9.

[3] *Palamon and Arcite*. On this old play *The Two noble Kinſmen* was probably founded.

[4] *Dr. Fauſtus*, by Chriſtopher Marlowe.

[5] *A Knack to know an honeſt Man*. This play was printed in 1596.

[6] Stephen Goſſon mentions a play entitled *The Hiſtory of Cæſar and Pompey*, which was acted before 1580.

	l.	s.	d.
R. the 16 of november 1594, at *deocleſyan*, [2] -	o.	xxxxiii.	o.
—— 30 of november 1594, at *warlam cheſter*, [7]	o.	xxxviii.	o.
—— 2 of deſember, 1594, at *the wiſe men of cheſter*, [20]	o.	xxviii.	o.
—— 14 of deſember 1594, at *the mawe*,[5] [4] -	o.	xxxxiiii.	o.
—— 19 of deſember 1594, at *the* 2 *pte of tamberlen*, [11]	o.	xxxxvi.	o.
—— 26 of deſember 1594, at *the ſege of london*, [12] -	iii.	iii.	o.
—— 11 of febreary 1594, at *the frenſhe comedey*, [6] -	o.	l.	o.
—— 14 of febreary 1594, at *long mege of weſtmeſter*, [18]	iii.	ix.	o.
—— 21 of febreary 1594, at *the macke*,[6] [1] -	iii.	o.	o.
—— 5 of marche 1594, at *ſeleo & olempo*,[7] [7] -	iii.	o.	o.
—— 7 of maye 1595, at *the firſt pte of Herculous*,[8] [10]	iii.	xiii.	o.
—— 23 of maye 1595, at *the* 2 *p. of Hercolaus*, [8] -	iii.	x.	o.
—— 3 of June 1595, at *the vii dayes of the weeke*, [19]	iii.	o.	o.
—— 18 of June 1595, at *the* 2 *pte of ſeſore*, (Cæſar)[9] [2]	o.	lv.	o.

[5] The *mawe* was a game at cards. The play is afterwards called *The ſeut* [ſuit] *at mawe*.

[6] This alſo was a game at cards.

[7] *Seleo* is afterwards written *Selyo*, and the play is in a ſubſequent entry called *Olempo* and *Hengengs*.

[8] *Hercules*, written by Martin Slaughter.

[9] Probably on the ſubject of Shakſpeare's play.

	l.	s.	d.
20 of June 1595, at *antony & vallea,*[2] [3] -	o.	xx.	o.
29 of auguſt 1595, at *longeſhancke,*[3] [14] -	o.	xxxx.	o.
5 of ſeptember 1595, at *cracke mee this notte,* [16]	iii.	o.	o.
17 of ſeptember 1595, at *the worldes tragedy,* [11]	iii.	v.	o.
2 of october 1595, at *the deſgyſes,* [6] -	o.	xxxxiii.	o.
15 of october 1595, at *the wonder of a woman,* [10]	o.	liii.	o.
29 of october 1595, at *barnardo & fiamata,* [7]			
14 of november 1595, *at a toye to pleaſe my ladye,*[4] [7]			
28 of november 1595, at *harry the v.*[5] [13] -	iii.	vi.	o.
29 of november 1595, at *the welſheman,* [1] -	o.	vii.	o.
3 of Jenewary 1595, at *chinon of Ingland,* [11]	o.	l.	o.
15 of Jenewary 1595, at *pethagerus,*[6] [13] -	o.	xviii.	o.
3 of febreary 1595, at the 1 *p. of Forteunatus,*[7] [7]	iii.	o.	o.

[2] This piece was entered in the Stationers' books by Humphrey Moſely, June 29, 1660, as the production of Philip Maſſinger.

[3] Probably Peele's play, entitled *The famous Chronicle of King Edward I. ſirnamed Edward Long-ſhankes,* printed in 1593.

[4] Afterwards called *A Toy to pleaſe chaſte Ladies.*

[5] I ſuppoſe, the play entitled *The famous Victories of K. Henry V. containing the honourable Battel of Agincourt,* 1598; in which may be found the rude outlines of our poet's two parts of *K. Henry IV.* and *K. Henry V.*

[6] *Pythagoras,* written by Martin Slaughter.

[7] By Thomas Dekker. This play is printed.

	l.	s.	d.
R. the 12 of febreary 1595, at *the blind beger of Alexandria*,[8] [13] - -	iii.	0.	0.
—— 29 of aprill 1596, at *Julian the apoſtata*, [3] -	0.	xxxvii.	0.
—— 19 of maye 1596, at *the tragedie of ffocaſſe*,[9] [7]	0.	xxxv.	0.
—— 22 of June 1596, at *Troye*, [4] - -	iii.	0.	0.
—— 1 of July 1596, at *paradox*, [1] - -	0.	xxxv.	0.
—— 18 of July 1596, at *the tincker of totnes*, - -	iii.	0.	0.

" *In the name of God, Amen, beginning one* [*on*] *Simon and Jewds day*, my lord admeralles men, *as followeth*; 1596.

[Here twenty plays are ſet down as having been performed between October 27, and November 15, 1596: but their titles have all been already given.]

" *In the name of God, Amen, beginninge the* 25 *of november* 1596, *as followeth*, the lord admerall players:

	l.	s.	d.
R. the 4 of deſember 1596, at *Valteger*, [12] -	0.	xxxv.	0.
—— 11 of deſember 1596, at *Stewkley*,[2] [11] -	0.	xxxx.	0.
—— 19 of deſember 1596, at *nebucadonizer*, [8] -	0.	xxx.	0.

[8] By George Chapman. Printed in 1598.

[9] *Phocas*, by Martin Slaughter.

[2] This play was printed in black letter in 1605.

	l.	s.	d.
R. the 30 of deſember 1596, at *what will be ſhall be*, [12]	0.	1.	0.
—— 14 of Jenewary 1597, at *alexander & lodwicke*, [15]	0.	lv.	0.
—— 27 of Jenewary 1597, at *woman hard to pleaſe*, [12]	6.	7.	8.
—— 5 of febreary 1597, at *Oſeryck*, [2] - -	3.	2.	1.
—— 19 of marche 1597, at *guido*, [5][3] - -	-	-	-
—— 7 of aprill 1597, at *v plays in one*, [10] -	-	-	-
—— 13 of aprill 1597, at *times triumph and foztus*, [1]	-	-	-
—— 29 of aprill 1597, at *Uter pendragon*, [5] -	-	-	-
—— 11 of maye 1597, at *the comedy of umers*, (humours)[4] (11]	-	-	-
—— 26 of maye 1597, at *harey the fifte life and death*,[5] [6]	-	-	-
—— 3 of June 1597, at *frederycke and baſellers*,[6] [4] -	-	-	-
—— 22 of June 1597, at *Henges*, [1] - -	-	-	-

[3] The ſums received by Mr. Henſlowe from this place are ranged in five columns, in ſuch a manner as to furniſh no preciſe information.

[4] Perhaps Ben Jonſon's *Every Man in his Humour*. It will appear hereafter that he had money dealings with Mr. Henſlowe, the manager of this theatre, and that he wrote for him. The play might have been afterwards purchaſed from this company by the Lord Chamberlain's Servants, by whom it was acted in 1598.

[5] This could not have been the play already mentioned, becauſe in that Henry does not die; nor could it have been Shakſpeare's play.

[6] Afterwards written—*Baſelia*.

—— 30 of June 1597, at *life and death of Martin Swarte*, [3] - - - - -
—— 14 of July 1597, at *the wiche [witch] of Iſlyngton*,* [2] - - -

" *In the name of God, Amen, the* 11 *of October, beganne* my lord admeralls and my lord of pembrokes men *to playe at my howſe*, 1597:

October 11. at *Jeronymo*, - - -
12. at *the comedy of umers*, - - -
16. at *doctor foſtes*, - - -
19. at *hardacnute*, - - -
31. at *frier ſpendelton*, - - -
November 2. at *Bourbon*," - - -

The following curious paper furniſhes us with more accurate knowledge of the properties, &c. of a theatre in Shakſpeare's time, than the reſearches of the moſt induſtrious antiquary could have attained:

" *The booke of the Inventary of the goods of my* Lord Admeralles men, *tacken the* 10 *of Marche in the yeare* 1598.

Gone and loſte.

Item, j orenge taney ſatten dublet, layd thycke with gowld lace.
Item, j blew tafetie ſewt.
Item, j payr of carnatyon ſatten Veneſyons, layd with gold lace.

* This piece was performed a ſecond time on the 28th of July, when this account was cloſed.

Item, j longe-ſhanckes ſewte.
Item, j Sponnes dublet pyncket.
Item, j Spanerds gyrcken.
Item, Harey the fyftes dublet.
Item, Harey the fyftes vellet gowne.
Item, j fryers gowne.
Item, j lyttell dublet for boye.

"*The Enventary of the Clownes Sewtes and Hermetes Sewtes, with dievers other ſewtes, as followeth, 1598, the 10 of March.*

Item, j ſenetores gowne, j hoode, and 5 ſenetores capes.
Item, j ſewtte for Nepton; Fierdrackes ſewtes for Dobe.
Item, iiij geneſareyes gownes, and iiij torch-berers ſewtes.
Item, iij payer of red ſtraſers, [ſtroſſers] and iij fares gowne of buckrome.
Item, iiij Herwodes cottes, and iij ſogers cottes, and j green gown for Maryan.
Item, vj grene cottes for Roben Hoode, and iiij knaves ſewtes.
Item, ij payer of grene hoſſe, and Anderſones ſewte. j whitt ſhepen clocke.
Item, ij roſſet cottes, and j black freſe cotte, and iij preſtes cottes.
Item, ij whitt ſheperdes cottes, and ij Danes ſewtes, and j payer of Danes hoſſe.
Item, The Mores lymes,[8] and Hercolles lymes, and Will. Sommers ſewtte.

[8] I ſuſpect that theſe were the limbs of *Aaron* the Moor in *Titus Andronicus*, who in the original play was probably tortured on the ſtage. This ancient exhibition was ſo much approved of by Ra-

Item, ij Orlates ſewtes, hates and gorgetts, and vij anteckes cootes.

Item, Cathemer ſewte, j payer of cloth whitte ſtockens, iiij Turckes hedes.

Item, iiij freyers gownes and iiij hoodes to them, and j fooles coate, cape, and babell, and branhowlttes bodeys, [bodice] and merlen [Merlin's] gowne and cape.

Item, ij black ſaye gownes, and ij cotton gownes, and j rede ſaye gowne.

Item, j mawe gowne of calleco for the quene,[6] j carnowll [cardinal's] hatte.

Item, j red ſewt of cloth for pyge, [Pſyche] layed with whitt lace.

Item, v payer of hoſſe for the clowne, and v gerkenes for them.

Item, iij payer of canvas hoſſe for aſane, ij payer of black ſtrocers.

Item, j yelow leather dublett for a clowne, j Whittcomes dublett poke.

Item, Eves bodeyes, [bodice] j pedante truſſer, and iij donnes hattes.

Item, j payer of yelow cotton ſleves, j goſtes ſewt, and j goſtes bodeyes.

Item, xviij copes and hattes, Veroneſ ſonnes hoſſe.

Item, iij trumpettes and a drum, and a trebel viall, a baſſe viall, a bandore, a ſytteren, j anſhente, [ancient] j whitt hatte.

Item, j hatte for Robin Hoode, j hobihorſe.

venſcroft, that he introduced it in his play.—In *The Battle of Alcazar* there is alſo a Moor, whoſe dead body is brought on the ſtage, but not in a diſlocated ſtate.

[6] In the play called *Mawe*.

Item, v ſhertes, and j ſerpelowes, [ſurplice] iiij ferdingalles.
Item, vj head-tiers, j fane, [fan] iiij rebatos, ij gyrketruſes.
Item, j longe ſorde.

" *The Enventary of all the aparell for my* Lord Admiralles men, *tacken the* 10 *of marche* 1598.—
—*Leaft above in the tier-houſe in the cheaſt.*

Item, My Lord Caffes [Caiphas'] gercken, & his hooſſe.
Item, j payer of hoſſe for the Dowlfen [Dauphin].
Item, j murey lether gyrcken, & j white lether gercken.
Item, j black lether gearken, & Nabeſathe ſewte.
Item, j payer of hoſſe, & a gercken for Valteger.
Item, ij leather anteckes cottes with baſſes, for Fayeton [Phaeton].
Item, j payer of bodyes for Alles [Alice] Pearce.

" *The Enventary tacken of all the properties for my* Lord Admeralles men, *the* 10 *of Marche*, 1598.

Item, j rocke, j cage, j tombe, j Hell mought [Hell mouth].
Item, j tome of Guido, j tome of Dido, j bedſteade.
Item, viij lances, j payer of ſtayers for Fayeton.
Item, ij ſtepells, & j chyme of belles, & j beacon.
Item, j hecfor for the playe of Faeton, the limes dead.
Item, j globe, & j golden ſcepter; iij clobes [clubs.]

Item, ij marchepanes, & the ſittie of Rome.
Item, j gowlden fleece; ij rackets; j baye tree.
Item, j wooden hatchett; j lether hatchete.
Item, j wooden canepie; owld Mahemetes head.
Item, j lyone ſkin; j beares ſkyne; & Faetones lymes, & Faeton charete; & Argoſſe [Argus's] heade.
Item, Nepun [Neptun's] forcke & garland.
Item, j croſers ſtafe; Kentes woden leage [leg].
Item, Ieroſſes [Iris's] head, & raynbowe; j littell alter.
Item, viij viſerdes; Tamberlyne brydell; j wooden matook.
Item, Cupedes bowe, & quiver; the clothe of the Sone & Mone.[7]
Item, j bores heade & Serberoſſe [Cerberus] iij heades.
Item, j Cadeſeus; ij moſe [moſs] banckes, & j ſnake.
Item, ij fanes of feathers; Belendon ſtable; j tree of gowlden apelles; Tantelouſe tre; jx eyorn [iron] targates.
Item, j copper targate, & xvij foyles.
Item, iiij wooden targates; j greve armer.
Item, j ſyne [ſign] for Mother Readcap; j buckler.
Item, Mercures wings; Taſſo picter; j helmet with a dragon; j ſhelde, with iij lyones; j elme bowle.
Item, j chayne of dragons; j gylte ſpeare.
Item, ij coffenes; j bulles head; and j vylter.
Item, iij tymbrells; j dragon in foſtes [Fauſtus],

[7] Here we have the only attempt which this Inventory furniſhes of any thing like ſcenery, and it was undoubtedly the *ne plus ultra* of thoſe days. To exhibit a ſun or moon, the art of perſpective was not neceſſary.

Item, j lyone; ij lyon heades; j great horſe with his leages [legs]; j ſack-bute.
Item, j whell and frame in the Sege of London.
Item, j paire of rowghte gloves.
Item, j poopes miter.
Item, iij Imperial crownes; j playne crowne.
Item, j goſtes crown; j crown with a ſone.
Item, j frame for the heading in Black Jone.
Item, j black dogge.
Item, j cauderm for the Jewe.[8]

"*The Enventorey of all the aparell of the* Lord Admeralles men, *taken the* 13*th of Marche* 1598, *as followeth:*

Item, j payer of whitte ſaten Veneſons cut with coper lace.
Item, j aſh coller ſatten doublett, lacyd with gold lace.
Item, j peche coller ſatten doublett.
Item, j owld whitte ſatten dublette.
Item, j bleu tafitie ſewtte.
Item, j Mores cotte.
Item, Pyges [Pſyches] damaſk gowne.
Item, j black ſatten cotte.
Item, j harcoller tafitie ſewte of pygges.
Item, j white tafitie ſewte of pygges.
Item, Vartemar ſewtte.
Item, j great pechcoller dublet, with ſylver lace.
Item, j white ſatten dublet pynckte.
Item, j owld white ſatten dublet pynckte.
Item, j payer of ſatten Veneſyan ſatten ymbradered.
Item, j payer of French hoſſe, cloth of gowld.

[8] *The Jew of Malta.*

Item, j payer of cloth of gowld hoſſe with ſylver paines.
Item, j payer of cloth of ſylver hoſſe with ſatten and ſylver panes.
Item, Tamberlynes cotte, with coper lace.
Item, j read clock with white coper lace.
Item, j read clocke with read coper lace.
Item, j ſhorte clocke of taney ſatten with ſleves.
Item, j ſhorte clocke of black ſatten with ſleves.
Item, Labefyas clocke, with gowld buttenes.
Item, j peyer of read cloth hoſſe of Veneſyans, with ſylver lace of coper.
Item, Valteger robe of rich tafitie.
Item, Junoes cotte.
Item, j hode for the wech [witch].
Item, j read ſtamel clocke with whitte coper lace.
Item, j read ſtamel clocke with read coper lace.
Item, j cloth clocke of ruſſete with coper lace, called Guydoes clocke.
Item, j ſhort clocke of black velvet, with ſleves faced with ſhagg.
Item, j ſhort clocke of black vellet, faced with white fore [fur].
Item, j manes gown, faced with whitte fore.
Item, Dobes cotte of cloth of ſylver.
Item, j payer of pechecoler Veneſyones uncut, with read coper lace.
Item, j read ſcarllet clocke with ſylver buttones.
Item, j longe black velvet clock, layd with brod lace black.
Item, j black ſatten ſewtte.
Item, j blacke velvet clocke, layed with twyſt lace blacke.
Item, Perowes ſewt, which W^m^. Sley were.
Item, j payer of pechcoler hoſſe with ſylver corlled panes.

Item, j payer of black cloth of ſylver hoſſe, drawne owt with tufed tafittie.
Item, Tamberlanes breches, of crymſon vellvet.
Item, j payer of ſylk howſe with panes of ſylver corlled lace.
Item, j Faeytone ſewte.
Item, Roben Hoodes ſewtte
Item, j payer of cloth of gowld hoſe with gowld corlle panes.
Item, j payer of rowne hoſſe buffe with gowld lace.
Item, j payer of mows [mouſe] coller Veneſyans with R. brode gowld lace.
Item, j flame collerde dublet pynked.
Item, j blacke ſatten dublet, layd thyck with blacke and gowld lace.
Item, j carnacyon dubled cutt, layd with gowld lace.
Item, j white ſatten dublet, faced with read tafetie.
Item, j grene gyrcken with ſylver lace.
Item, j black gyrcken with ſylver lace.
Item, j read gyrcken with ſylver lace.
Item, j read Spanes [Spaniſh] dublett ſtyched.
Item, j peche coller ſatten caſſe.
Item, Taſoes robe.
Item, j murey robe with ſleves.
Item, j blewe robe with ſleves.
Item, j oren taney [orange tawny] robe with ſleves.
Item, j pech collerd hallf robe.
Item, j lane [long] robe with ſpangells.
Item, j white & orenge taney ſcarf, ſpangled.
Item, Dides [Dido's] robe.
Item, iij payer of baſſes.
Item, j white tafitie ſherte with gowld frenge.

Item, the fryers truſſe in Roben Hoode.
Item, j littell gacket for Pygge [Pſyche].
Item, j womanes gown of cloth of gowld.
Item, j orenge taney vellet gowe [gown] with ſylver lace, for women.
Item, j black velvet gowne ymbradered with gowld lace.
Item, j yelowe ſatten gowne ymbradered with ſylk & gowld lace, for women.
Item, j greve armer.
Item, Harye the v. velvet gowne.
Item, j payer of crymſon ſatten Venyſiones, layd with gowld lace.
Item, j blew tafitie ſewte, layd with ſylver lace.
Item, j Longeſhankes ſeute.
Item, j orange coller ſatten dublett, layd with gowld lace.
Item, Harye the v. ſatten dublet, layd with gowld lace.
Item, j Spanes caſſe dublet of crymſon *pyncked*.
Item, j Spanes gearcken layd with ſylver lace.
Item, j wattſhode [watchet] tafitie dublet for a boye.
Item, ij payer of baſſes, j whitte, j blewe, of ſaſnett.
Item, j freyers gowne of graye.

A Note of all ſuche boockes as belong to the Stocke, and ſuch as I have bought ſince the 3d of March, 1598.

Black Jonne
The Umers.
Hardicanewtes.
Borbonne.
Sturgflaterey
Brunhowlle.
Cobler quen hive.
Frier Pendelton.
Alls Perce.
Read Cappe.
Roben Hode, 1.
Roben Hode, 2.
Phaeyton.
Treangell cockowlls.
Goodwine.
Woman will have her will.
Welchmans price.
King Arthur, life and death.
1 pt of Hercules.
2 pte of Hercoles.
Pethagores.
Focaſſe.
Elexſander and Lodwicke.
Blacke Battman.
2 p. black Battman.
2 pt of Goodwine.
Mad mans morris.
Perce of Wincheſter.
Vayvode.

A Note of all ſuche goodes as I have bought for the Companey of my Lord Admiralls men, *ſence the 3 of Aprell, 1598, as followeth:*

	£.	s.	d.
Bowght a damaſke caſock garded with velvett - - -	0	18	0
Bowght a payer of paned rownd hoſſe of cloth whiped with ſylk, drawne out with tafitie, - -	0	8	0
Bowght j payer of long black wollen ſtockens, - - -			
Bowght j black ſatten dublett -	4	15	0
Bowght j payer of rownd howſſe paned of vellevet - - -			
Bowght a robe for to goo inviſibell	3	10	0
Bowght a gown for Nembia -			

Bowght a dublett of whitt ſatten layd thicke with gowld lace, and a payer of rowne pandes hoſſe of cloth of ſylver, the panes layd with gowld lace	7	0	0
Bowght of my ſonne v ſewtes -	20	0	0
Bowght of my ſonne iiij ſewtes -	17	0	0

In the folio manuſcript already mentioned I have found notices of the following plays, and their ſeveral authors:

Oct. 1597. *The Cobler.*
Dec. 1597. *Mother Redcap*, by Anthony Mundy,[9]
Jan. and Michael Drayton.
1597-8. *Dido and Æneas.*
Phaeton, by Thomas Dekker.[2]
The World runs upon Wheels, by G. Chapman.
Feb. *The firſt part of Robin Hood*, by Anthony
1577-8. Mundy.[3]

[9] "The beſt for comedy amongſt us bee, Edward Earle of Oxforde, Doctor Gager of Oxforde, Maiſter Rowleye, once a rare ſcholler of learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, Maiſter Edwardes, one of her Majeſties chappell, eloquent and witty John Lilly, Lodge, Gaſcoyne, Greene, Shakſpeare, Thomas Naſhe, Anthony Mundye our beſt plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilſon, Hathway, and Henry Chettle." *Wits Treaſury, being the Second Part of Wits Common Wealth*, by Francis Meres, 1598, p. 283. The latter writer, Henry Chettle, is the perſon whoſe teſtimony with reſpect to our poet's merit as an actor has been already produced. Chettle, it appears, wrote ſingly, or in conjunction with others, not leſs than thirty plays, of which one only (*Hoffman's Tragedy*) is now extant.

[2] In the following month I find this entry:
"Lent unto the company, the 4 of Febreary 1598, to diſcharge Mr. Dicker owt of the cownter in the powltrey, the ſome of fortie ſhillinges, I ſay dd [delivered] to Thomas Downton, xxxxs."

[3] In a ſubſequent page is the following entry: "Lent unto Robarte Shawe, the 18 of Novemb. 1598, to lend unto Mr.

The ſecond part of the downfall of earl Huntington, ſirnamed Robinhood, by Anthony Mundy, and Henry Chettle.

A woman will have her will,[4] by William Haughton.[5]

The Miller, by Robert Lee.

" *A booke wherein is a part of a Welchman,*" by Michael Drayton and Henry Chettle.[6]

Mar. 1598. *The Triplicity of Cuckolds,* by Thomas Dekker.

The Famous wars of Henry the Firſt and the Prince of Wales, by Michael Drayton and Thomas Dekker.[7]

Earl Goodwin and his three ſons,[8] by Michael Drayton, Henry Chettle,

Cheattle, upon the mending of *the firſt part of Robart Hoode,* the ſum of xs."

And afterwards—" For mending of *Robin Hood* for the corte."

This piece and its ſecond part have hitherto, on the authority of Kirkman, been falſely aſcribed to Thomas Heywood.

[4] Printed in 1616, under the title of *Engliſhmen for my Money, or a Woman will have her Will.*

[5] The only notice of this poet that I have met with, except what is contained in theſe ſheets, is the following: " Lent unto Robert Shawe, the 10 of Marche, 1599, [1600] to lend Mr. Haughton out of *the clynke,* the ſome of xs."

[6] Perhaps *The Valiant Welchman,* printed in 1615.

[7] There was a play on this ſubject written by R. Davenport, and acted by the king's company in 1624; as appears by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript. Perhaps it was only the old play new-modelled. It was afterwards (1660) entered on the Stationers' books by a knaviſh bookſeller, and aſcribed to Shakſpeare.

Subjoined to the account of this play is the following article: " Lent at that time unto the company, for to ſpend at the reading of that boocke at the ſonne [Sun] in new Fiſh Street, vs."

[8] " Lent unto Thomas Dowton the 11 of Aprill 1598, to bye tafitie to macke a rochet for the biſhoppe in earle Goodwine, xxiiij s."

Thomas Dekker, and Robert Wilſon.

The ſecond Part of Goodwin, &c. by Michael Drayton.

Pierce of Exton,[9] by the ſame four authors.

April 1598. *The Life of Arthur king of England*, by Richard Hathwaye.

The firſt part of Black Batman of the North, by Henry Chettle.

The ſecond part of Black Batman, by Henry Chettle, and Robert Wilſon.

May 1598. The firſt part of *Hercules*, } by Martin Slaughter.
The ſecond part of *Hercules*, }
Phocas, }
Pythagoras, }
Alexander and Lodowick,[a] }

Love Prevented, by Henry Porter.

The funeral of Richard Cordelion, by Robert Wilſon, Henry Chettle, Anthony Mundy, and Michael Drayton.

June 1598. *The Will of a Woman*, by George Chapman.

The Mad Man's Morris, by Robert Wilſon, Michael Drayton and Thomas Dekker.

[9] I ſuppoſe a play on the ſubject of *King Richard II.*

[a] "Lent unto the company, the 16 of Maye, 1598, to baye v boockes of Martin Slather, called 2 ptes of Hercolus, & focas, & pethagores, and alyxander and lodieck, which laſt boocke he hath not yet delyvered, the ſome of vii li." He afterward received 20s. more on delivering the play laſt named.—He was a player, and one of the Lord Admiral's Servants.

Theſe plays, we have already ſeen, had been acted ſome years before. It appears from various entries in this book, that the price of an old play, when transferred from one theatre to another, was two pounds.

Hannibal and Hermes, by Robert Wilſon, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.

July 1598. *Valentine and Orſon*, by Richard Hathwaye, and Anthony Mundy.

Pierce of Winchester, by Thos. Dekker, Robert Wilſon, and Michael Drayton.

The Play of a Woman, by Henry Chettle.

The Conqueſt of Brute, with the firſt finding of the Bath, by John Daye, Henry Chettle, and John Singer.[3]

Aug. 1598. *Hot anger ſoon cold*, by Henry Porter, Henry Chettle, and Benjamin Jonſon.

William Longſword, by Michael Drayton.

Chance Medly, by Robert Wilſon, Anthony Mundy, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.

Catilines Conſpiracy, by Robert Wilſon, and Henry Chettle.

Vayvoode, by Thomas Downton.

Worſe afeared than hurt, by Michael Drayton and Thomas Dekker.

Sept. 1598. *The Firſt Civil Wars in France*, by the ſame authors.

The Second Part of the Civil Wars in France, by the ſame.

The Third Part of the Civil Wars in France, by the ſame.

The Fountain of new Faſhions, by George Chapman.

Mulmutius Donwallow, by William Rankins.

[3] I find in a ſubſequent page, "Lent unto Sam. Rowley, the 12 of Deſember, 1598, to bye divers thinges for to macke cotte for gyants in Brute, the ſome of xxs."

Connan, Prince of Cornwall, by Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.

Nov. 1598. *'Tis no deceit to deceive the deceiver*, by Henry Chettle.

Dec. 1598. *War without blows and Love without ſuit*, by Thomas Heywood. In a ſubſequent entry "——Love without *ſtrife*."

The Second Part of the Two Angry Women of Abington, by Henry Porter.

Feb. 1598-9. *Joan as good as my lady*, by Thos. Heywood.[4]

[4] Thomas Heywood had written for the ſtage in 1596, for in another page I find—"Octob. 14, 1596. Lent unto them [the Lord Admiral's Servants] for Hawodes booke, xxxs." From another entry in the ſame page it appears that *Fletcher* wrote for the ſtage ſo early as in the year 1596. "Octob. 14, 1596. Lent unto Martyne, [Martin Slaughter] to fetch *Fleatcher*, vis." Again, *ibidem*: "Gave the company to give *Fleatcher*, and the have promiſed me payment,—xxs."—Heywood was in the year *1598 an hireling*, by which name all the players who were not *ſharers*, were denominated. They received a certain ſum by the week. In Mr. Henſlowe's book the following article occurs:

"Memorandum, that this 25 of Marche, 1598, Thomas Hawoode came and hiered him ſealfe with me as a covenanted ſervante for ij yeares, by the receveing of ij ſyngell pence, according to the ſtatute of Wincheſter, and to beginne at the daye above written, and not to playe any wher publicke abowt lundon, not whille theſe ij yeares be expired, but in my howſe. Yf he do, then he doth forfett unto me by the receving of the iid. fortie powndes. And witneſs to this, Anthony Monday, William Borne, Gabriel Spencer, Thomas Dowton, Robert Shawe, Richard Jones, Richard Alleyn."

William Borne, *alias* Bird, a dramatick poet, whoſe name frequently occurs in this manuſcript, was likewiſe *an hireling*, as is aſcertained by a memorandum, worth tranſcribing on another account:

"Memorandum, that the 10 of auguſt, 1597, Wm. Borne came and ofered him ſealfe to come and play with my lord admiralles men at my houſe called by the name of the Roſe, ſetewate one [on] the banck, after this order followinge. He hath received of me ijd. upon and [an] aſſumſett to forfett unto me a hundreth marckes, of lafull money of Ingland, yf he do not performe thes thinges

Friar Fox and Gillian of Brentford, by Thos. Downton, and Samuel Redly.
Æneas' Revenge, with the tragedy of Polyphemus, by Henry Chettle.
The two Merry Women of Abington,[5] by Henry Porter.
The Four Kings.

March 1598-9. *The Spencers*, by Henry Porter.
Oreſtes' furies, by Thomas Dekker.
June 1599. *Agamemnon*, by Henry Chettle and Thomas Dekker.
The Gentle Craft, by Thomas Dekker.
Bear a brain, by Thomas Dekker.
Aug. 1599. *The Poor man's Paradiſe*, by Wm. Haughton.

following; that is, preſentley after libertie beinge granted for playinge, to come & to playe with my lorde admiralles men at my howſſe aforeſayd, & not in any other howſſe publick abowt london, for the ſpace of iij yeares being imediatly after this reſtraynt is receiled by the lordes counſell, which reſtraynt is by the menes of playinge *the Jeyle of Dooges* [Iſle of Dogs]. Yf he do not, then he forfetts this aſſumpſet afore, or ells not. Witneſs to this E. Alleyn & Robſone."

This ſtipend of an hireling is aſcertained by the following memorandum:

"Memorandum, that the 27 of Jewley 1597, I heayred Thomas Hearne with ij pence for to ſerve me ij yeares in the qualetie of playenge, for *five ſhillinges* a weeck for one yeare, and vi s. viii d. for the other yere, which he hath covenanted hime ſealſe to ſerve me, & not to depart from my company till thes ij yeares is ended. Witneſs to this, John Synger, James Donſton, Thomas Towne.

[5] The note relative to this play is worth preſerving. "Lent unto Harey Porter, at the requeſt of the company, in earneſt of his booke called ij merey wemen of abington, the ſome of forty ſhellengs, and for the reſayte of that money he gave me his fayth-full promiſe that I ſhold have alle his bookes which he writte ether him ſelfe or with any other, which ſome was dd. [delivered] the 28th of febreary, 1598."—The ſpelling of the word—*receipt* here ſhews how words of that kind were pronounced in our author's age, and confirms my note in Vol. X. p. 20, n. 3. [i. e. Article *Venus and Adonis* in Mr. Malone's edit. 1790.]

The Stepmother's Tragedy, by Henry Chettle.

The lamentable tragedy of Peg of Plymouth, by Wm. Bird, Thos. Downton, and Wm. Jubey.

Nov. 1599. *The Tragedy of John Cox of Colmiſton*, by Wm. Haughton and John Day.

The ſecond part of Henry Richmond, by Robert Wilſon.[6]

The tragedy of Thomas Merry, by William Haughton, and John Day.

Dec. 1599. *Patient Griſſell*, by Thomas Dekker, Henry Chettle, and William Haughton.

The Arcadian Virgin, by Henry Chettle, and William Haughton.

Jan. 1599-1600. *Owen Tudor*, by Michael Drayton, Richard Hathwaye, Anthony Mundy, and Rt. Wilſon.

The Italian Tragedy, by John Day.

Jugurtha, by William Boyle.

Truth's Supplication to Candlelight, by Tho. Dekker.

The Spaniſh Morris, by Thomas Dekker, Wm. Haughton, and John Day.

Damon and Pythias, by Henry Chettle.

March. 1599-1600. *The Seven Wiſe Maſters*, by Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, William Haughton, and John Day.

April 1600. *Ferrex and Porrex*,[7] by Wm. Haughton.

[6] For this piece the poet received eight pounds. The common price was ſix pounds.

[7] Here and above, (ſee *Damon and Pythias*) we have additional inſtances of old plays being re-written. There was a dramatick piece by Lord Buckhurſt and Thomas Norton, with the title of

The Engliſh Fugitives, by the ſame.
The golden Aſs and Cupid and Pyſche, by Thomas Decker, John Daye, and Henry Chettle.
The Wooing of Death, by Henry Chettle.
Alice Pierce.
Strange news out of Poland, by William Haughton, and —— Pett.
The Blind Beggar of Bethnell Green, by Henry Chettle, and John Day.

June 1600. *The fair Conſtance of Rome*, by Anthony Mundy, Richard Hathwaye, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.
The ſecond part of the fair Conſtance of Rome, by the ſame.

December 1600. *Robinhood's Penn'orths*, by Wm. Haughton.
Hannibal and Scipio, by Richard Hathwaye, and William Rankins.

Feb. 1600-1. *Scogan and Skelton*, by the ſame.
The Second Part of Thomas Strowde,[8] by William Haughton, and John Day.[9]

March *The conqueſt of Spain by John of Gaunt*, by Richard Hathwaye, —— Hawkins, John Day, and Wm. Haughton.
All is not gold that gliſters, by Samuel Rowley, and Henry Chettle.

Ferrex and Porrex, printed in 1570. *Damon and Pythias*, by Richard Edwards, was printed in 1582.

[8] This play appears to have been ſometimes called *Thomas Strowde*, and ſometimes *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*. See the title-page of that play.

[9] "Paid unto John Daye, at the apoyntment of the company, the 2 of maye 1601, after the playing of the 2 pte of Strowde, the ſome of xs."

April 1601. *The Conqueſt of the Weſt-Indies*, by Wentworth Smith, William Haughton, and John Day.

Sebaſtian king of Portugal, by Henry Chettle, and Thomas Dekker.

The Six Yeomen of the Weſt, by William Haughton, and John Day.

The Third Part of Thomas Strowde, by Wm. Haughton, and John Day.

The honourable life of the humorous earl of Gloſter, with his conqueſt of Portugal, by Anthony Wadeſon.

Aug. 12. 1601. *Cardinal Wolſey*,[2] by Henry Chettle.

The proud woman of Antwerp, by William Haughton, and John Day.

The Second Part of Thomas Dough, by John Day, and William Haughton.

Sept. 1601. *The Orphan's Tragedy*, by Henry Chettle.

Nov. 12. 1601. *The Riſing of Cardinal Wolſey*,[3] by Anthony Mundy, Michael Drayton, Henry Chettle, and Wentworth Smith.

The Six Clothiers of the Weſt, by Richard Hathwaye, Wentworth Smith, and Wm. Haughton.

The Second Part of the Six Clothiers, by the ſame.

[2] "Layd out at the apoyntment of my ſone and the company, unto harey chettle, for the alterynge of the booke of carnowlle Wollſey, the 28 of June, 1601, the ſome of xxs." I ſuſpect, this play was not written originally by Chettle.

[3] So called in one place; in another *The Firſt Part of Cardinal Wolſey*. It was not produced till ſome months after the play written or altered by Chettel. Thirty-eight pounds were expended in the dreſſes, &c. for Chettel's play; of which ſum twenty-five ſhillings were paid "for velvet and mackynge of the doctors gowne." The two parts of *Cardinal Wolſey* were performed by the earl of Worceſter's ſervants.

Nov. 1601. *Too good to be true*, by Henry Chettle, Rich. Hathwaye, and Wentworth Smith.

Jan. 1601-2. *Judas*, by William Haughton, Samuel Rowley,[4] and William Borne.

Apr. 1602. *The Spaniſh Fig.*

May 1602. *Malcolm King of Scots*, by Charles Maſſy.

Love parts friendſhhip, by Henry Chettle, and Wentworth Smith.

The Second Part of Cardinal Wolſey[5] by Henry Chettle.

The Briſtol Tragedy, by Day.[6]

Tobyas, by Henry Chettle.

Jeffitha, by Henry Chettle.

Two Harpies, by Dekker, Drayton, Middleton, Webſter, and Mundy.

July 1602. *A Daniſh Tragedy*, by Henry Chettle.

The Widow's Charm,[7] by Anthony Mundy.

A Medicine for a Curſt Wife, by T. Dekker.

[4] This author was likewiſe a player, and in the ſame ſituation with Heywood, as appears from the following entry:

"Memorandum, that the 16 of november, 1598, I hired Charles Maſſey and Samuel Rowley, for a year and as muche as to ſraftide, [Shrovetide] begenynge at the day above written, after the ſtatute of Wincheſter, with ij ſingell pence; and forther they have covenanted with me to playe in my howſſe and in no other howſſe (dewringe the time) publick but in mine: yf they do withowt my conſent to forfitt unto me xxxx lb. a pece. Witneſs Thomas Dowton, Robert Shawe, Edw. Jubey."

[5] "Lent unto Thomas Downton, the 18th of may, [1602] to bye maſkynge antycke ſewts for the 2 parte of Carnowlle Wollſey, the ſome of iij lb. vs."—"27 of may, to bye Wm. Somers cotte, and other thinges, the ſome of iij lb."

[6] Probably *The Fair Maid of Briſtol*, printed in 1605.

[7] Perhaps the play afterwards called *The Puritan Widow*.

Sampſon, by Samuel Rowley, and Edw. Jubye.

Sept. 1602. *William Cartwright*, by William Haughton.

Felmelance, by Henry Chettle, and —— Robinſon.

Joſhua, by Samuel Rowley.

Oct. 1602. *Randall earl of Cheſter*, by T. Middleton.[8]

Nov. 1602. *As merry as may be*, [acted at court] by J. Daye, Wentworth Smith, and R. Hathwaye.

Albeke Galles, by Thomas Heywood, and Wentworth Smith.

Marſhal Oſrick, by Thomas Heywood, and Wentworth Smith.

The Three Brothers, a tragedy, by Wentworth Smith.

Lady Jane, by Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Heywood, Wentworth Smith, and John Webſter.

The Second part of Lady Jane by Thomas Heywood, John Webſter, Henry Chettle, and Thomas Dekker.

Chriſtmas comes but once a year, by T. Dekker.

The Overthrow of Rebels.

The Black Dog of Newgate, by Richard Hathwaye, John Day, Wentworth Smith, and another poet.

The ſecond part of the ſame, by the ſame.

The Blind eats many a fly, by T. Heywood.

The Fortunate General, a French hiſtory,

[8] Probably his play called *The Mayor of Queenborough.*

by Wentworth Smith, John Day, and Richard Hathwaye.

Dec. *The Set at Tennis*, by Anthony Mundy.

1602. *The London Florentine*, by Thomas Heywood, and Henry Chettle.

The ſecond part of the London Florentine, by Thomas Heywood, and Henry Chettle.

The Tragedy of Hoffman,[9] by Henry Chettle.

Singer's Voluntary, by John Singer.

The four ſons of Amon, by Robert Shawe.

Feb. 1602-3. *A Woman kill'd with kindneſs*, by T. Heywood.

March 1602-3. *The Boaſt of Billinsgate*, by John Day, and Richard Hathwaye.

The Siege of Dunkerk, by Charles Maſſy.

The patient man and honeſt whore, by Thomas Dekker, and Thomas Middleton.

The Italian Tragedy, by Wentworth Smith, and John Day.

Pontius Pilate.

Jane Shore, by Henry Chettle, and John Day.

Baxter's Tragedy.

The following notices, which I have reſerved for this place, relate more immediately to our author. I have mentioned in a former page, that I had not the ſmalleſt doubt that the name of Shakſpeare, which is printed at length in the title-pages of *Sir John Oldcaſtle*, 1600, and *The London Prodigall*, 1605, was affixed to thoſe pieces by a knaviſh

[9] This play was printed in 1631.

bookſeller without any foundation; and am now furniſhed with indubitable evidence on this ſubject; for under the year 1599 the following entry occurs in Mr. Henſlowe's folio Manuſcript:

"The 16th of October, 99. Received by me Thomas Downton of Philip Henſlowe, to pay Mr. Monday, Mr. Drayton, Mr. Wilſon, and Hathway, for *The firſt part of the Lyfe of Sir Jhon Ouldcaſtell*, and in earneſt of *the Second Pte*, for the uſe of the company, ten pound, I ſay received 10lb.

"Received [Nov. 1599] of Mr. Hinchelo for Mr. Munday and the reſte of the poets, at the playinge of *Sir John Oldcaſtell*, the firſte tyme, xs. as a gifte."

"Received [Dec. 1599] of Mr. Henſlowe, for the uſe of the company, to pay Mr. Drayton for the ſecond parte of *Sir Jhon Ouldcaſell*, foure pound, I ſay received *per* me Thomas Downton, iiij li."[2]

We have here an indiſputable proof of a fact which has been doubted, and can now pronounce with certainty that our poet was entirely careleſs about literary fame, and could patiently endure to be made anſwerable for compoſitions which were not his own, without uſing any means to undeceive the publick.

The bookſeller for whom the firſt part of *Sir John Oldcaſtle* was printed, "as it hath bene lately acted by the Right Honourable the earl of Notingham Lord High Admirall of England his ſervants," was *Thomas Pavier*, who however had the

[2] That this ſecond part of *Sir John Oldcaſtle* was performed on the ſtage, as well as the former, is aſcertained by the following entry:

"Dd. [delivered] unto the littel taylor, at the apoyntment of Robert Shawe, the 12 of marche, 1599, [1600] to macke thinges for the 2 *pte of owldcaſtell*, ſome of xxxs."

modeſty to put only the initial letters of his chriſtian and ſurname (T. P.) in the ſpurious title-page which he prefixed to it. In 1602, he entered the old copy of *Titus Andronicus* on the Stationers' books, with an intention (no doubt) to affix the name of Shakſpeare to it, finding that our poet had made ſome additions to that piece.

To this perſon we are likewiſe indebted for the miſtake which has ſo long prevailed,[8] relative to the two old plays entitled *The Firſt Part of the Contention between the two famous houſes of York and Lancaſter*, and *The true tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, which were printed *anonymouſly* in 1600, as acted by the *earl of Pembroke's Servants*, and have erroneouſly been aſcribed to our poet, in conſequence of Pavier's reprinting them in the year 1619, and then for the firſt time fraudulently affixing Shakſpeare's name to them. To thoſe plays, as to *Oldcaſtle*, he put only the initial letters of his chriſtian and ſurname. For him likewiſe *The Yorkſhire Tragedy* was printed in the year 1608, and our poet's name affixed to it.

The Life and Death of Lord Cromwell, publiſhed in 1602, and aſcribed to W. S. and *The Puritan Widow*, which was publiſhed in 1607, with the ſame initial letters, were probably written by *Wentworth Smith*, a dramatick writer whoſe name has ſo often occurred in the preceding pages, with perhaps the aid of Anthony Mundy, or ſome other of the ſame fraternity. *Locrine*, which was printed in 1595, as *newly ſet forth, overſeen, and corrected by W. S.* was probably reviſed by the ſame perſon.

[8] See the *Diſſertation on the Three Parts of King Henry VI.* in Vol. X.

It is extremely probable from the regiſter of dramatick pieces in a former page, that *Cardinal Wolſey* had been exhibited on the ſtage before our poet produced him in *K. Henry VIII.* To the liſt of plays written by Shakſpeare upon ſubjects which had already been brought upon the ſcene,[4] muſt alſo be added *Troilus and Creſſida*, as appears from the following entries:

" Aprel 7. 1599. Lent unto Thomas Downton to lende unto Mr. Deckers, & harey cheattel, in earneſt of ther boocke called *Troyeles & Creaſſedaye*, the ſome of iii lb."

" Lent unto harey cheattell, & Mr. Dickers, in pte of payment of their booke called *Troyelles & Creſſeda*, the 16 of Aprell, 1599, xxs."

I ſuſpect the authors changed the name of this piece before it was produced, for in a ſubſequent page are the following entries:

" Lent unto Mr. Deckers and Mr. Chettel the 26 of maye, 1599, in earneſt of a booke called *Troylles and Creſeda*, the ſum of xxs." In this entry a line is drawn through the words *Troylles and Creſeda*, and " *the tragedie of Agamemnon*" written over them.

" Lent unto Robart Shawe, the 30 of maye 1599, in fulle payment of the boocke called *the tragedie of Agamemnon*, the ſum of iii li. vs.—to Mr. Deckers, and harey Chettell."

" Paid unto the Maſter of the Revells man for lycenſyng of a boocke called *the Tragedie of Agamemnon* the 3 of June, 1599, vii s."

We have ſeen in the liſt of plays performed in 1593-4, by the ſervants of the earl of Suſſex, the old play of *Titus Andronicus*, in which on its revival

[4] See Vol. X. p. 452.

by the king's ſervants, our author was induced, for the advantage of his own theatre, to make ſome alterations, and to add a few lines. The old play of *K. Henry VI.* which was played with ſuch ſucceſs in 1591, he without doubt touched in the ſame manner, in conſequence of which it appeared in his works under the title of *The Firſt Part of King Henry VI.* How common this practice was, is proved by the following entries made by Mr. Henſlowe:

" Lent unto the companye, the 17 of Auguſt, 1602, to pay unto Thomas Deckers, for new *adycions* to *Owldcaſtell*, the ſome of xxxx s."

" Lent unto John Thane, the 7 of ſeptember, 1602, to geve unto Thomas Deckers for his *adicions* in *Owldcaſtell*, the ſome of x s."

" Lent unto Samuel Rowley, the 14 of deſember, 1600, to geve unto Thomas Deckers, for his paynes in *Fayeton*, [*Phaeton*] ſome of x s. For the corte."

" Lent unto Samuel Rowley, the 22 of deſember, 1601, to geve unto Thomas Decker for *altering* of *Fayton* [*Phaeton*] for the corte, xxx s."

" P^d^ unto Thomas Deckers, at the apoyntment of the company, the 16 of janeuary 1601, towards the *altering* of *Taſſo*, the ſome of xx s."

" Lent unto my ſonne E. Alleyn, the 7 of november, 1602, to geve unto Thomas Deckers for *mending* of the play of *Taſſo*, the ſome of xxxx s."

" Lent unto Mr. Birde, the 4 of deſember, 1602, to paye unto Thomas Deckers, in pt of payment for *Taſſo*, the ſum of xx s."

Theſe two old playes of *Phaeton* and *Taſſo's Melancholy*, we have ſeen in a former page, had been exhibited ſome years before.

" Lent unto the company, the 22 of november, 1602, to paye unto William Birde, and Samuel

Rowley, for ther *adycions* in *Doctor Fostes*, the some of iiii lb."

"P^d. unto Thomas Hewode, the 20 of september, [1602] for the new *adycions* of *Cutting Dick*, the some of xx s."

The following curious notices occur, relative to our poet's old antagonist, Ben Jonson; the last two of which furnish a proof of what I have just observed with respect to *Titus Andronicus*, and the First Part of *King Henry VI.*; and the last article ascertains that he had the audacity to write a play, after our author, on the subject of *K. Richard III.*

"Lent unto Bengemen Johnson, player, the 22 of July, 1597, in redy money, the some of fower poundes, to be payd yt again whensoever either I or my sonne [Edw. Alleyn] shall demand yt. I saye iiij lb.

"Witness E. Alleyn, & John Synger."

"Lent unto Bengemen Johnsone, the 3 of desember, 1597, upon a booke which he was to writte for us before crysmas next after the date hereof, which he showed the plotte unto the company: I saye, lent in redy mony unto hime the some of xx s."

"Lent Bengemyn Johnson, the 5 of Jenewary 1597, [1597-8] in redy mony, the some of v s.

"Lent unto the company, the 18 of agust, 1598, to bye a boocke called *Hoate anger sone cowld*, of Mr. Porter, Mr. Cheattell, & Bengemen Johnson, in full payment, the some of vi lb.

"Lent unto Robart Shawe, & Jewbey, the 23 of Octob. 1598, to lend unto Mr. Chapman, one [on] his playboocke, & ij actes of a tragedie of *Bengemen's* plott, the sum of iij lb.

"Lent unto Wm. Borne, *alias* Birde, the 10 of agust, 1599, to lend unto Bengemen Johnson and Thomas Dekker, in earnest of ther booke which

they are writing, called *Pagge of Plim*,[5] the ſome of xxxx s.

" Lent unto Thomas Downton, the 3 of ſeptember, 1599, to lend unto Thomas Deckers, Bengemen Johnſon, Heary Cheattell, and other jentellmen, in earneſt of a playe called *Robart the ſecond kinge of Scottes tragedie*, the ſome of xxxx s.

" Lent unto Wm. Borne, the 23 of ſeptember, 1599, to lend unto Bengemen Johnſone, in earneſt of a boocke called *the ſcottes tragedie*, the ſome of xx s.

" Lent unto Mr. Alleyn, the 25 of ſeptember, 1601, to lend unto Bengemen Johnſon, upon his writing of his *adycians* in *Jeronymo*,[6] xxxx s.

" Lent unto Bengemy Johnſone, at the apoyntment of E. Alleyn, and Wm. Birde, the 22 of June, 1602, in earneſt of a boocke called *Richard Crook-back*, and for new *adycions* for *Jeronymo*, the ſome of x lb."

[5] Theſe three words are ſo blotted, that they can only be gueſſed at. I find in the next page—" Lent unto Mr. Birde, Thomas Downton, and William Jube, the 2 of September, 1599, to paye in full payment for a boocke called the lamentable tragedie of *Pagge of Plymouth*, the ſome of vi lb."; which ſhould ſeem to be the ſame play; but ſix pounds was the full price of a play, and the authors are different. — Bird, Downton, and Jubey, were all actors.

[6] *The Spaniſh Tragedy*, written by Thomas Kyd, is meant, which was frequently called *Jeronymo*, though the former part of this play expreſsly bore that name. See the title-page to the edition of *The Spaniſh Tragedy* in 1610, where theſe new additions are particularly mentioned. Jonſon himſelf alludes to them in his *Cynthia's Revels*, 1602: " Another ſwears down all that are about him, that the *old Hieronymo*, as it was *at firſt* acted, was the only beſt and judiciouſly penned play in Europe."—Mr. Hawkins, when he republiſhed this piece in 1773, printed moſt of Jonſon's additions to it, at the bottom of the page, as " foiſted in by the players."

I inſert the following letter, which has been lately found at Dulwich College, as a literary curioſity. It ſhews how very highly Alleyn the player was eſtimated. What the wager alluded to was, it is now impoſſible to aſcertain. It probably was, that Alleyn would equal his predeceſſors Knell and Bently, in ſome part which they had performed, and in which his contemporary, George Peel, had likewiſe been admired.

" Your anſwer the other night ſo well pleaſed the gentlemen, as I was ſatisfied therewith, though to the hazarde of the wager: and yet my meaning was not to prejudice *Peele's* credit, neither wolde it, though it pleaſed you ſo to excuſe it. But beinge now growen farther in queſtion, the partie affected to Bently ſcornynge to win the wager by your deniall, hath now given you libertie to make choyce of any one play that either Bently or Knell plaide; and leaſt this advantage agree not with your mind, he is contented both the plaie and the tyme ſhal be referred to the gentlemen here preſent. I ſee not how you canne any waie hurt your credit by this action: for if you excell them, you will then be famous; if equall them, you win both the wager and credit; if ſhort of them, we muſt and will ſaie, NED ALLEN STILL.

" Your friend to his power,

" W. P.

" Deny mee not, ſweet Ned; the wager's downe,
" And twice as muche commaunde of me or myne;
" And if you wynne, I ſwear the half is thine,
" And for an overplus an Engliſh crowne:
" Appoint the tyme, and ſtint it as you pleas,
" Your labour's gaine, and that will prove it eaſe."

The two following letters, which were found among Mr. Henſlowe's papers, aſcertain the low ſtate of the dramatick poets in his time. From the former of them it ſhould ſeem, that in a few years after the acceſſion of James the Firſt, the price of a play had conſiderably riſen. Neither of them are dated, but I imagine they were written ſome time between the years 1612 and 1615. Mr. Henſlowe died about the 8th of January, 1615-16.

" Mr. Hinchlow,

" I have ever ſince I ſaw you kept my bed, being ſo lame that I cannot ſtand. I pray, Sir, goe forward with that reaſonable bargayn for *The Bellman*. We will have *but twelve pounds, and the overplus of the ſecond day*; whereof I have had ten ſhillings, and deſire but twenty ſhillings more, till you have three ſheets of my papers. Good Sir, conſider how for your ſake I have put myſelf out of the aſſured way to get money, and from *twenty pounds* a play am come to *twelve*. Thearfor in my extremity forſake me not, as you ſhall ever command me. My wife can acquaint you how infinit great my occaſion is, and this ſhall be ſufficient for the receipt, till I come to ſet my hand to the booke.

" Yours at comand,

" ROBERT DABORNE."

At the bottom of this letter Mr. Henſlowe has written the following memorandum:

" Lent Mr. Daborne upon this note, the 23 of aguſt, in earneſt of a play called *The Bellman of London*, xx s."

" To our moſt loving friend,
Mr. Philip Hinchlow,
Eſquire, Theſe.

" Mr. Hinchlow,

" You underſtand our unfortunate extremitie, and I doe not thincke you ſo void of chriſtianitie but that you would throw ſo much money into the Thames as wee requeſt now of you, rather then endanger ſo many innocent liues. You know there is xl. more at leaſt to be receaved of you for the play. We deſire you to lend us vl. of that; which ſhall be allowed to you; without which we cannot be bayled, nor I play any more till this be diſpatch'd. It will loſe you xxl. ere the end of the next weeke, beſides the hinderance of the next new play. Pray, Sir, conſider our caſes with humanity, and now give us cauſe to acknowledge you our true freind in time of neede. Wee have entreated Mr. Daviſon to deliver this note, as well to witneſſe your love as our promiſes, and alwayes acknowledgment to be ever

" Your moſt thanckfull and loving friends,
" NAT. FIELD."

" The money ſhall be abated out of the money remayns for the play of Mr. Fletcher and ours.
" ROB. DABORNE."

" I have ever found you a true loving friend to mee, and in ſoe ſmall a ſuite, it beeinge honeſt, I hope you will not faile us.
" PHILIP MASSINGER."

Indorſed:
" Received by mee Robert Daviſon of Mr.

Hinchlow, for the uſe of Mr. Daboerne, Mr. Feeld, Mr. Meſſenger, the ſum of vl.

" ROBERT DAVISON."

The dimenſions and plan of the Globe Playhouſe, as well as the time when it was built, are aſcertained by the following paper. I had conjectured that it was not built before 1596; and we have here a confirmation of that conjecture.

" THIS INDENTURE made the eighte day of Januarye, 1599, and in the two and fortyth yeare of the reigne of our ſovereigne ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the fayth, &c. Between Phillipp Henſlowe and Edward Allen of the pariſhe of St. Saviours in Southwark, in the countie of Surry, gentleman, on thone parte, and Peter Streete, citizen and carpenter of London, on thother parte, Witneſſeth; that whereas the ſaid Phillipp Henſlowe and Edward Allen the day of the date hereof have bargained, compounded, and agreed with the ſaid Peter Streete for the erectinge, buildinge, and ſetting up of a new Houſe and Stage for a play-howſe, in and uppon a certeine plott or peece of grounde appoynted oute for that purpoſe, ſcituate and beinge near Goldinge lane in the pariſh of Saint Giles without Cripplegate of London; to be by him the ſaid Peter Streete or ſome other ſufficient workmen of his providing and appoyntment, and att his propper coſtes and chardges, (for the conſideration hereafter in theſe preſents expreſſed) made, builded, and ſett upp, in manner and form following: that is to ſaie, the frame of the ſaide howſe to be ſett ſquare, and to conteine fowerſcore foote of lawful aſſize everye waie ſquare, without,

and fiftie five foote of like aſſize ſquare, everye waie within, with a good, ſuer, and ſtronge foundacion of pyles, brick, lyme, and ſand, both withoute and within, to be wrought one foote of aſſize at the leiſte above the ground; and the ſaide frame to conteine three ſtories in heigth, the firſt or lower ſtorie to conteine twelve foote of lawful aſſize in heighth, the ſecond ſtorie eleaven foote of lawful aſſize in heigth, and the third or upper ſtorie to conteine nine foote of lawful aſſize in height. All which ſtories ſhall conteine twelve foote and a half of lawful aſſize in breadth throughoute, beſides a juttey forwards in eyther of the ſaide two upper ſtories of tene ynches of lawful aſſize; with fower convenient diviſions for gentlemens roomes,[7] and other ſufficient and convenient diviſions for twoopennie roomes;[8] with neceſſarie ſeates to be placed and ſett as well in thoſe roomes as throughoute all the reſt of the galleries of the ſaid howſe; and with ſuche like ſteares, conveyances, and diviſions without and within, as are made and contryved in and to the late-erected play-howſe on the Bancke in the ſaid pariſh of Saint Saviours, called THE GLOBE; with a ſtadge and tyreinge-howſe, to be made, erected and ſett upp within the ſaide frame; with a ſhadowe or cover over the ſaide ſtadge; which ſtadge ſhall be placed and ſett, as alſoe the ſtearcaſes of the ſaid frame, in ſuch ſorte as is prefigured in a plott thereof drawen; and which ſtadge ſhall conteine in length fortie and three foote of lawfull aſſize, and in breadth to extende to the middle of the yarde[9] of the ſaid howſe: the ſame ſtadge to be paled in belowe with goode ſtronge and

[7] What we now call the *Boxes*.

[8] Perhaps the rooms over the boxes; what we now call *Balconies*.

[9] The open area in the centre.

ſufficyent new oken boardes, and likewiſe the lower ſtorie of the ſaid frame withinſied, and the ſame lower ſtorie to be alſoe laide over and fenced with ſtronge yron pyles: And the ſaide ſtadge to be in all other proportions contryved and faſhioned like unto the ſtadge of the ſaide Playhouſe called THE GLOBE; with convenient windowes and lights glazed to the ſaide tireynge-howſe. And the ſaide frame, ſtadge, and ſtearcaſes, to be covered with tyle, and to have a ſufficient gutter of leade, to carrie and convey the water from the coveringe of the ſaid ſtadge, to fall backwards. And alſoe all the ſaide frame and the ſtearcaſes thereof to be ſufficyently encloſed without with lathe, lyme, and haire. And the gentlemens roomes and two-pennie roomes to be ſeeled with lathe, lyme, and haire; and all the flowers of the ſaide galleries, ſtories, and ſtadge to be boarded with good and ſufficient newe deale boardes of the whole thicknes, wheare neede ſhall be. And the ſaide howſe, and other thinges before mentioned to be made and doen, to be in all other contrivitions, conveyances, faſhions, thinge and thinges, effected, finiſhed and doen, according to the manner and faſhion of the ſaide howſe called THE GLOBE; ſaveinge only that all the princypall and maine poſtes of the ſaide frame, and ſtadge forward, ſhall be ſquare and wrought palaſter-wiſe, with carved proportions called Satiers, to be placed and ſett on the topp of every of the ſame poſtes: and ſaveing alſoe that the ſaide Peter Streete ſhall not be charged with anie manner of paynteinge in or aboute the ſaide frame, howſe, or ſtadge, or anie parte thereof, nor rendering the walles within, nor ſeelinge anie more or other roomes then the gentlemens roomes, twoo-pennie roomes, and ſtadge, before mentioned. NOWE thereuppon the ſaide Peter Streete doth covenante, promiſe, and

graunte for himſelf, his executors, and adminiſtrators, to and with the ſaid Phillip Henſlowe, and Edward Allen, and either of them, and the executors, and adminiſtrators of them, by theſe preſents, in manner and forme followeinge, that is to ſay; That he the ſaide Peter Streete, his executors, or aſſigns, ſhall and will at his or their owne propper coſtes and chardges, well, workman-like, and ſubſtantially make, erect, ſett upp, and fullie finniſhe in and by all thinges accordinge to the true meaninge of theis preſents, with good ſtronge and ſubſtancyall new tymber and other neceſſarie ſtuff, all the ſaid frame and other works whatſoever in and uppon the ſaide plott or parcell of grounde, (beinge not by anie authoritie reſtrayned, and having ingres, egres, and regres to doe the ſame,) before the five and twentyth daye of Julie, next comeing after the date hereof. And ſhall alſoe att his or their like coſtes and chardges provide and find all manner of workmen, tymber, joyſts, rafters, boords, dores, bolts, hinges, brick, tyle, lathe, lyme, haire, ſande, nailes, lead, iron, glaſs, workmanſhipp and other thinges whatſoever which ſhall be needful, convenyent and neceſſarie for the ſaide frame and works and everie parte thereof: and ſhall alſoe make all the ſaide frame in every poynte for ſcantlings lardger and bigger in aſſize then the ſcantlings of the timber of the ſaide newe-erected howſe called The Globe. And alſoe that he the ſaide Peter Streete ſhall furthwith, as well by him ſelfe as by ſuche other and ſoe manie workmen as ſhall be convenient and neceſſarie, enter into and uppon the ſaide buildinges and workes, and ſhall in reaſonable manner procede therein withoute anie wilfull detraction, untill the ſame ſhall be fully effected and finiſhed. In consideration of all which buildings and of all ſtuff and workmanſhipp thereto belonginge,

the ſaid Philip Henſlowe, and Edward Allen, and either of them, for themſelves, theire and either of theire executors and adminiſtrators, doe joyntlie and ſeverallie covenante and graunt to and with the ſaide Peter Streete, his executors and adminiſtrators, by theis preſents, that the ſaid Phillipp Henſlowe, and Edward Allen, or one of them, or the executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſigns of them or one of them, ſhall and will well and trulie paie or cauſe to be paide unto the ſaide Peter Streete, his executors or aſſignes, att the place aforeſaid appoynted for the erectinge of the ſaid frame, the full ſome of FOWER HUNDRED AND FORTIE POUNDES, of lawfull money of Englande, in manner and forme followinge; that is to ſaie, at ſuche tyme and when as the tymber woork of the ſaide frame ſhall be rayſed and ſett upp by the ſaide Peter Streete, his executors or aſſignes, or within ſeaven daies then next followinge, twoo hundred and twentie poundes; and att ſuche time and when as the ſaid frame-work ſhall be fullie effected and finiſhed as is aforeſaid, or within ſeaven daies then next followinge, thother twooe hundred and twentie poundes, withoute fraude or coven. Provided allwaies, and it is agreed betwene the ſaid parties, that whatſoever ſome or ſomes of money the ſaid Phillip Henſlowe, or Edward Allen, or either of them, or the executors or aſſigns of them or either of them, ſhall lend or deliver unto the ſaide Peter Streete, his executors or aſſignes, or any other by his appoyntment or conſent, for or concerninge the ſaide woork or anie parte thereof, or any ſtuff thereto belonginge, before the raiſeing and ſetting upp of the ſaide frame, ſhall be reputed, accepted, taken and accoumpted in parte of the firſt payment aforeſaid of the ſaid ſome of fower hundred

and fortie poundes: and all ſuch ſome and ſomes of money as they or anie of them ſhall as aforeſaid lend or deliver betwene the razeing of the ſaid frame and finiſhing thereof, and of all the reſt of the ſaid works, ſhall be reputed, accepted, taken and accoumpted in parte of the laſte payment aforeſaid of the ſame ſome of fower hundred and fortie poundes; anie thinge above ſaid to the contrary notwithſtandinge. In witneſs whereof the parties aboveſaid to theis preſent indentures interchangeably have ſett their handes and ſeales. Yeoven the daie and yeare firſt above-written."

AS the following article in Mr. Malone's *Supplement*, &c. 1780, is omitted in his preſent *Hiſtorical Account of the Engliſh Stage*, it is here reprinted.—The deſcription of a moſt ſingular ſpecies of dramatick entertainment, cannot well be conſidered as an unnatural adjunct to the preceding maſs of theatrical information. STEEVENS.

" A tranſcript of a very curious paper now in my poſſeſſion, entitled, *The Platt of the Secound Parte of the Seven Deadlie Sinns*, ſerves in ſome meaſure to mark the various degrees of conſequence of ſeveral of theſe [our ancient] performers.

The piece entitled *The Seven Deadly Sins*, in two parts, (of one of which the annexed paper contains the outlines,) was written by Tarleton the comedian.[a] From the manner in which it is mentioned

[a] See *Four Letters and certain Sonnets*, [by Gabriel Harvey] 1592, p. 29.

" ——doubtleſs it will prove ſome dainty deviſe, queintly contrived by way of humble ſupplication to the high and mightie Prince of darkneſſe; not dunſically botched up, but *right formally conveyed*, according to the ſtile and tenour of Tarleton's *preſident*, his famous *play* of *the Seaven Deadly Sinnes*; which moſt dealy [f. deadly] but lively playe I might have ſeen in London, and was verie gently invited thereunto at Oxford by Tarleton himſelfe; of whom I merrily demaunding, which of the ſeaven was his own deadlie ſinne, he bluntly anſwered, after this manner; By G— the ſinne of other gentlemen, lechery." Tarleton's *Repentance and his Farewell to his Frendes in his Sickneſs, a little before his death*," was entered on the Stationers' books in October, 1589; ſo that the play of *The Seven Deadly Sins* muſt have been produced in or before that year.

The Seven Deadly Sins had been very early perſonified, and introduced by Dunbar, a Scottiſh writer, (who flouriſhed about 1470) in a poem entitled *The Daunce*. In this piece they are deſcribed

by Gabriel Harvey, his contemporary, it appears to have been a new and unexampled ſpecies of dramatick exhibition. He expreſsly calls it a play. I think it probable, that it was firſt produced ſoon after a violent attack had been made againſt the ſtage. Several invectives againſt plays were publiſhed in the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It ſeems to have been the purpoſe of the author of this exhibition, to concenter in one performance the principal ſubjects of the ſerious drama, and to exhibit at one view thoſe uſes to which it might be applied with advantage. That theſe *Seven Deadly Sins*, as they are here called, were eſteemed the principal ſubjects of tragedy, may appear from the following verſes of Heywood, who, in his *Apology for Actors*, introduces *Melpomene* thus ſpeaking:

" Have I not whipt Vice with a ſcourge of ſteele,
" Unmaſkt ſterne *Murther*, ſham'd laſcivious *Luſt*,
" Pluckt off the viſar from grimme treaſon's face,
" And made the ſunne point at their ugly ſinnes?
" Hath not this powerful hand tam'd fiery *Rage*,
" Kill'd poyſonous *Envy* with her own keene darts,
" Choak'd up the *coveteous mouth* with moulten gold,
" Burſt the vaſt wombe of eating *Gluttony*,
" And drown'd the drunkard's gall in juice of grapes?
" I have ſhewd *Pride* his picture on a ſtage,
" Layde ope the ugly ſhapes his ſteel-glaſſe hid,
" And made him paſſe thence meekely—."

As a very full and ſatisfactory account of the exhibition deſcribed in this ancient fragment, by

as preſenting a maſk or mummery, with the neweſt gambols juſt imported from France. In an anonymous poem called *The Kalender of Shepherds*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1497, are alſo deſcribed the *Seven Viſions*, or the puniſhments in hell of *The Seven Deadly Sins*. See Warton's *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 197, 272. MALONE.

Mr. Steevens, will be found in the following pages, it is unneceſſary to add any thing upon the ſubject. —What dramas were repreſented in the *firſt* part of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, we can now only conjecture, as probably the *Plot* of that piece is long ſince deſtroyed. The ill conſequences of *Rage*, I ſuppoſe, were inculcated by the exhibition of *Alexander*, and the death of *Clitus*, on which ſubject, it appears there was an ancient play.[3] Some ſcenes in the drama of *Mydas*[4] were probably introduced to exhibit the odiouſneſs and folly of *Avarice*. Leſſons againſt *Pride* and ambition were perhaps furniſhed, either by the play of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*,[5] or by a piece formed on the ſtory of *Phaeton*:[6] And *Gluttony*, we may ſuppoſe, was rendered odious in the perſon of *Heliogabalus*.

MALONE.

[3] "If we preſent a foreign hiſtory, the ſubject is ſo intended, that in the lives of Romans, Grecians, or others, the vertues of our countrymen are extolled, or their vices reproved.—We preſent *Alexander* killing his friend in his *rage*, to reprove *raſhneſs*; *Mydas* choked with gold, to tax *covetouſneſs*; *Nero* againſt *tyranny*; *Sardanapalus* againſt *luxury*; *Ninus* againſt *ambition*."—Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, 1610. MALONE.

[4] See the foregoing note. MALONE.

[5] *The Tragedy of Ninus and Semiramis, the firſt Monarchs of the World*, was entered on the Stationers' books, May 10, 1595. See alſo note 3. MALONE.

[6] There appears to have been an antient play on this ſubject. "Art thou *proud?* Our *ſcene* preſents thee with the fall of *Phaeton*; Narciſſus pining in the love of his ſhadow; *ambitious* Haman now calling himſelf a god, and by and by thruſt headlong among the devils." *Pride* and *ambition* ſeem to have been uſed as ſynonymous terms. *Apology for Actors*. MALONE.

I met with this ſingular curioſity in the library of Dulwich College, where it had remained unnoticed from the time of Alleyn who founded that ſociety, and was himſelf the chief or only proprietor of the *Fortune* playhouſe.

The *Platt* (for ſo it is called) is fairly written out on paſteboard in a large hand, and undoubtedly contained directions appointed to be ſtuck up near the prompter's ſtation. It has an oblong hole in its centre, ſufficient to admit a wooden peg; and has been converted into a cover for an anonymous manuſcript play entitled *The Tell-tale*. From this cover[7] I made the preceding tranſcript; and the beſt conjectures I am able to form about its ſuppoſed purpoſe and operation, are as follows.

It is certainly (according to its title) the groundwork of a motley exhibition, in which the heinouſneſs of the ſeven deadly ſins[8] was exemplified by aid of ſcenes and circumſtances adapted from different dramas, and connected by choruſes or occaſional ſpeakers. As the firſt part of this extraordinary entertainment is wanting, I cannot promiſe myſelf the moſt complete ſucceſs in my attempts to explain the nature of it.

The period is not exactly fixed at which moralities gave way to the introduction of regular tra-

[7] On the outſide of the cover is written, "The *Book* and Platt," &c. STEEVENS.

[8] Our antient audiences were no ſtrangers to the eſtabliſhed catalogue of mortal offences. Claudio, in *Meaſure for Meaſure*, declares to Iſabella that of *the deadly ſeven* his ſin was *the leaſt*. Spenſer, in his *Faery Queen*, canto IV. has perſonified them all; and the Jeſuits, in the time of Shakſpeare, pretended to caſt them out in the ſhape of thoſe animals that moſt reſembled them. See *King Lear*, Vol. XIV. p. 162, n. 6. STEEVENS.

gedies and comedies. Perhaps indeed this change was not effected on a ſudden, but the audiences were to be gradually weaned from their accuſtomed modes of amuſement. The neceſſity of half indulging and half repreſſing a groſs and vicious taſte, might have given riſe to ſuch pieces of dramatick patchwork as this. Even the moſt rigid puritans might have been content to behold exhibitions in which Pagan hiſtories were rendered ſubſervient to Chriſtian purpoſes. The dulneſs of the intervening homiliſt would have half abſolved the *deadly ſin* of the poet. A ſainted audience would have been tempted to think the repreſentation of *Othello* laudable, provided the piece were at once heightened and moralized[9] by choruſes ſpoken in the characters of Ireton and Cromwell.—Let it be remembered, however, that to perform ſeveral ſhort and diſtinct plays in the courſe of the ſame evening, was a practice continued much below the imagined date of this theatrical directory. Shakſpeare's *Yorkſhire Tragedy* was one out of four pieces acted together; and Beaumont and Fletcher's works ſupply a further proof of the exiſtence of the ſame cuſtom.

This "Platt of the *ſecond* part of the ſeven deadly ſins" ſeems to be formed out of three plays only,

9 ——*moralized*—] In Randolph's *Muſe's Looking-Glaſs*, where two Puritans are made ſpectators of a play, a player, to reconcile them in ſome degree to a theatre, promiſes to *moralize* the plot: and one of them anſwers,

"——— that *moralizing*
"I do approve: it may be for inſtruction."

Again, Mrs. Flowerdew, one of the characters, ſays, "Pray, Sir, continue the *moralizing*." The old regiſters of the Stationers afford numerous inſtances of this cuſtom, which was encouraged by the encreaſe of puritaniſm. STEEVENS.

viz. Lord Buckhurſt's *Gorboduc*, and two others with which we are utterly unacquainted, *Sardanapalus* and *Tereus*.[2] It is eaſy to conceive how the different ſins might be expoſed in the conduct of the ſeveral heroes of theſe pieces. Thus, *Porrex* through *envy* deſtroys his brother;—*Sardanapalus* was a martyr to his *ſloth*:

"Et venere, et cœnis, et *pluma* Sardanapali."
Juv. Sat. X.

Tereus gratified his *lechery* by committing a rape on his wife's ſiſter. I mention theſe three only, becauſe it is apparent that the danger of the *four* preceding vices had been illuſtrated in the former part of the ſame entertainment. "Theſe *three* put back the other *four*," as already done with, at the opening of the preſent exhibition. Likewiſe *Envy* croſſes the ſtage before the drama of *Gorboduc*, and *Sloth* and *Lechery* appear before thoſe of *Sardanapalus* and *Tereus*.—It is probable alſo that theſe different perſonages might be meant to appear as in a viſion to *King Henry VI.* while he ſlept; and that as often as he awaked, he introduced ſome

[2] ——*Tereus.*] Some tragedy on this ſubject moſt probably had exiſted in the time of Shakſpeare, who ſeldom alludes to fables with which his audience were not as well acquainted as himſelf. In *Cymbeline* he obſerves that Imogen had been reading the tale of *Tereus, where Philomel* &c. An alluſion to the ſame ſtory occurs again in *Titus Andronicus*. A Latin tragedy entitled *Progne* was acted at Oxford when Queen Elizabeth was there in 1566. See Wood's *Hiſt. Ant. Un. Oxon.* Lib. I. p. 287, col. 2.

Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*, 1610, has the following paſſage, from which we may ſuppoſe that ſome tragedy written on the ſtory of *Sardanapalus* was once in poſſeſſion of the ſtage. "Art thou inclined to luſt? Behold the fall of the Tarquins in *The Rape of Lucrece*; the guerdon of *luxury* in the *death of Sardanapalus*;" &c. See alſo note 3, p. *497. STEEVENS.

particular comment on each preceding occurrence. His piety would well enough entitle him to ſuch an office. In this taſk he was occaſionally ſeconded by Lidgate, the monk of Bury, whoſe age, learning, and experience, might be ſuppoſed to give equal weight to his admonitions. The latter certainly, at his final exit, made a formal addreſs to the ſpectators.

As I have obſerved that only particular ſcenes from theſe dramas appear to have been employed, ſo probably even theſe were altered as well as curtailed. We look in vain for the names of *Lucius* and *Damaſus* in the liſt of perſons prefixed to the tragedy of *Gorboduc*. Theſe new characters might have been added, to throw the materials that compoſed the laſt act into narrative, and thereby ſhorten the repreſentation; or perhaps all was tragick pantomime, or dumb ſhow,[3] except the alternate monologues of *Henry* and *Lidgate*; for from the *Troie Boke* of the latter I learn that the reciters of dramatick pieces were once diſtinct from the acting performers or geſticulators. But at what period this practice (which was perhaps the parent of all the pageantry and dumb ſhows in theatrical pieces during the reign of Elizabeth,) was begun or diſcontinued, I believe (like many cuſtoms of greater importance,) is not to be determined.

" In the theatre there was a ſmale aulter
" Amyddes ſette that was halfe circuler,
" Which into eaſte of cuſtome was directe,
" Upon the whiche a pulpet was erecte,

[3] I am led to this ſuppoſition by obſerving that Lord Buckhurſt's Gorboduc could by no means furniſh ſuch dialogue as many of theſe ſituations would require; nor does the ſucceſſion of ſcenes, enumerated above, by any means correſpond with that of the ſame tragedy. STEEVENS.

" And therein ſtode an auncient poete
" For to reherſe by rethorykes ſwete
" The noble dedes that were hyſtoryall
" Of kynges and prynces for memoryall,
" And of theſe olde worthy emperours
" The great empryſe eke of conquerours,
" And how they gat in Martes hye honour
" The lawrer grene for fyne of their labour,
" The palme of knighthod diſerved by old date,
" Or Parchas made them paſſen into fate.
" And after that with chere and face pale,
" With ſtyle enclyned gan to tourne his tale,
" And for to ſynge after all their looſe,
" Full mortally the ſtroke of Attropoſe,
" And tell alſo for all their worthy head
" The ſodeyne breaking of their lives threde,
" How piteouſly they made their mortall ende
" Thrugh falſe fortune that al the world wil ſhende,
" And how the fyne of all their worthyneſſe
" Ended in ſorowe and in high triſteſſe.
" By compaſſynge of fraud or falſe treaſon,
" By ſodaine murder or vengeance of poyſon,
" Or conſpyryng of fretyng falſe envye
" How unwarily that they dydden dye,
" And how their renowne and their mighty fame
" Was of hatred ſodeynly made lame,
" And how their honour downward gan decline,
" And the miſchiefe of their unhappy fyne,
" And how fortune was to them unſwete,
" All this was told and red by the poete.
" *And whyle that he in the pulpit ſtode*
" *With deadly face all devoyde of blode,*
" *Synging his dittees with muſes all to rent,*
" *Amyd the theatre ſhrowded in a tent,*
" *There came out men gaſtfull in their cheres,*
" *Diſfygured their faces with viſeres,*
" *Playing by ſygnes in the peoples ſyght*
" *That the poete ſonge hath on heyght,*
" *So that there was no manner diſcordaunce*
" *Atwene his ditees and their countenaunce;*
" *For lyke as he alofte dyd expreſſe*
" *Wordes of joye or of heavineſſe,*
" *Meaning and chere beneth of them playing*
" *From poynt to poynt was alway anſwering;*
" *Now triſte, now glad, now hevy, and now light,*
" *And face ychaungid with a ſodeyne ſyght*

" *So craftely they coulde them transfygure,*
" *Conforming them unto the chaunte plure,*
" *Now to ſynge and ſodaynely to wepe,*
" *So well they could their obſervaunces kepe.*
" And this was done," &c. *Troie Boke*, B. II. c. xii.

I think *Gravina* has ſomewhere alluded to the ſame contrivance in the rude exhibitions of very early dramatick pieces.

It may be obſerved, that though Lidgate aſſures us both tragedies and comedies were thus repreſented in the city of Troy, yet Guido of Colonna (a civilian and poet of Meſſina in Sicily,) whom he has ſometimes very cloſely followed, makes mention of no ſuch exhibitions. The cuſtom however might have been prevalent here, and it is probable that Lidgate, like Shakſpeare, made no ſcruple of attributing to a foreign country the peculiarities of his own.

To conclude, the myſterious fragment of ancient ſtage directions, which gave riſe to the preſent remarks, muſt have been deſigned for the uſe of thoſe who were familiarly acquainted with each other, as ſometimes, inſtead of the ſurname of a performer, we only meet with *Ned* or *Nich.*[4] Let

[4] From this paper we may infer, with ſome degree of certainty, that the following characters were repreſented by the following actors:

King Henry VI.

E. of Warwick, -	Geo. Bryan.*
Lieutenant, - -	Rich. Cowley.*
Purſuivant, - -	John Duke.†
Warder, - -	R. Pallant.

* The names marked with an aſteriſk occur on the liſt of original performers in the plays of Shakſpeare. STEEVENS.

† This performer, and Kit. i. e. Chriſtopher Beeſton, who appears in this exhibition as an attendant Lord, belonged to the ſame company as Burbage, Condell, &c. See B. Jonſon's *Every Man in his Humour*. MALONE.

me add, that on the whole this paper deſcribes a ſpecies of dramatick entertainment of which no memorial is preſerved in any annals of the Engliſh ſtage. STEEVENS.

To the preceding extract are now annexed three other "Plotts" of three of our old unpubliſhed dramatick pieces.[5] See No. I. II. and III. The originals are in my poſſeſſion.

Gorboduc.

Gorboduc,	R. Burbage.*
Porrex,	W. Sly.*
Ferrex,	Harry (i. e. Condell).*
Lucius,	G. Bryan.
Damaſus,	T. Goodale.
Videna, (the Queen,)	Saunder (i. e. *Alexander* Cooke).*

Tereus.

Tereus,	R. Burbage.
Philomela,	R. Pallant.
Panthea,	T. Belt.
Itys,	Will.
Julio,	J. Sincler.‡
Progne,	Saunder.

Sardanapalus.

Sardanapalus,	Aug. Phillips.*
Arbactus,	Tho. Pope.*
Nicanor,	R. Pallant.
Giraldus,	R. Cowley.
Phroneſius,	T. Goodale.
Will. Fool,	J. Duke.
Aſpatia,	R. Gough.*
Pompeia,	Ned (perhaps Edward Alleyn).
Rodope,	Nich. (Nicholas Tooley).*

STEEVENS.

[5] The loſs of a number of ſuch early plays is perhaps to be lamented only as far as they would have ſerved to throw light on the comick dialogue of Shakſpeare, which, (as I ſuſpect,) is in ſome places darkened by our want of acquaintance with ridiculous ſcenes at which his alluſions, during his own time, might have been both

‡ This name will ſerve to confirm Mr. Tyrwhitt's ſuppoſition in a note to *The Taming of a Shrew*, Vol. VI. p. 396, n. 9. STEEVENS.

There is reaſon to ſuppoſe that theſe curioſities once belonged to the collection of Alleyn, the founder of Dulwich College; nor am I left without expectation that at ſome future period I may derive more important intelligence from the diſperſed remains of that theatrical repoſitory.

The Dead Man's Fortune and *Tamar Cam*, will not, I believe, be found in any catalogues of dramatick performances. At leaſt they are not enumerated among ſuch as have fallen within Mr. Reed's obſervation, or my own.

That the play of *Frederick and Baſilea* was acted, by the Lord Admiral's Company, four times in the year 1597, may be aſcertained from Mr. Malone's *Additions*, p. 457.

In theſe three "Plotts" the names of ſeveral ancient players, "unregiſter'd in vulgar fame," are preſerved.—But to luckier and more induſtrious antiquaries of the ſcene I muſt reſign the taſk of collecting anecdotes of their lives: ſo that "Pigg, Ledbeter, White and Black Dick and Sam, Jack Gregory, Little Will Barne, and the red-faced fellow," &c. appear at preſent with leſs celebrity than their brethren who figured in the plays of Shakſpeare.

Notwithſtanding the reader muſt obſerve that the drift of the foregoing dramatick pieces cannot be collected from the mere outlines before us, he may be ready enough to charge them with abſurdity. Juſtice therefore requires me to add, that even the

obviouſly and ſucceſsfully pointed: for as Dr. Johnſon, in his comprehenſive preface, has obſerved, "Whatever advantages our author might once derive from perſonal alluſions, local cuſtoms, or temporary opinions, have for many years been loſt; and every topick of merriment, or motive of ſorrow, which the modes of artificial life afforded him, now only obſcure the ſcenes which they once illuminated." STEEVENS.

ſcenes of our author would have worn as unpromiſing an aſpect, had their ſkeletons only been diſcovered.

For ſeveral reaſons I ſuſpect that theſe "Plotts" had belonged to three diſtinct theatres, in which at different periods Alleyn might have held ſhares. —The names of the performers in each company materially diſagree;[6] the "Plotts" themſelves are written out in very different hands; and (though the remark may ſeem inconſiderable) their apertures are adapted to pegs of very different dimenſions. See the ſecond paragraph in p. *498.

STEEVENS.

[6] No. I. *The dead Man's Fortune.*

1. Burbage. 2. Darlowe, 3. Robert Lee. 4. B. Sam. 5. Tyreman.

Not one of the foregoing names occurs in the two following dramas.

No. II. *Tamar Cam.*

1. Allen.* 2. Dick Jubie.* 3. Mr. Towne.* 4. Mr. Sam.* 5. Mr. Charles.* 6. W. Cartwright. 7. Mr. Denyghten. 8. Tho. Marbeck. 9. W. Parr. 10. Tho. Parſons. 11. George. 12. H. Jeffs. 13. A. Jeffs. 14. Mr. Burne. 15. Mr. Singer.‡ 16. Jack Jones. 17. Jack Gregory. 18. Mr. Denyghten's little Boy. 19. Gedion. 20. Gibbs. 21. Little Will. 22. Tho. Rowley. 23. Reſter. 24. Old Browne. 25. Ned Browne. 26. Jeames. 27. Gil's Boy. 28. Will Barne. 29. The red-faced fellow.

No. III. *Frederick and Baſilea.*

1. Richard Allen.* 2. Dick Jubie.* 3. Mr. Towne.*. 4. Mr. Sam.* 5. Mr. Charles.* 6. Dick. 7. Black Dick. 8. Mr. Dunſtan. 9. Griffen. 10. Tho. Hunt. 11. Will. 12. Mr. Martyn. 13. Ed. Dutton. 14. Ledbeter. 15. Pigg. 16. E. Dutton's Boy.

The plays No. II. and III. have no performers in common, except ſuch as are diſtinguiſhed by aſteriſks. STEEVENS.

‡ *Singer.*] Perhaps he was author of a dramatick entertainment entitled *Singer's Voluntary.* See p. 479.

Other memoranda of ſeveral of theſe actors, will be found in preceding pages, among Mr. Malone's notes to his *Additions.* STEEVENS.

ANCIENT AND MODERN

COMMENDATORY VERSES

ON

SHAKSPEARE.

On WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, who died in April, 1616.[2]

RENOWNED Spenſer, lie a thought more nigh
To learned Chaucer; and rare Beaumont lie
A little nearer Spenſer, to make room
For Shakſpeare, in your three-fold, four-fold tomb.

[2] In a collection of manuſcript poems which was in the poſſeſſion of the late Guſtavus Brander, Eſq. theſe verſes are entitled—"BASSE HIS ELEGIE one [*on*] poett Shakeſpeare, who died in April 1616." The MS. appears to have been written ſoon after the year 1621. In the edition of our author's poems in 1640, they are ſubſcribed with the initials W. B. only. They were erroneouſly attributed to Dr. Donne, in a quarto edition of his poems printed in 1633; but his ſon Dr. John Donne, a Civilian, publiſhed a more correct edition of his father's poems in 1635, and rejected the verſes on Shakſpeare, knowing, without doubt, that they were written by another.

William Baſſe, according to Wood, [*Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 812,] "was of Moreton, near Thame in Oxfordſhire, and was ſometime a retainer to the Lord Wenman of Thame Park." There are ſome verſes by him in *Annalia Dubrenſia*, 4to. 1636; and in *Bathurſt's Life and Remains*, by the Reverend Thomas Warton, 8vo. 1761, there is a poem by Dr. Bathurſt "to Mr. William Baſſe, upon the *intended* publication of his Poems, Jan. 13, 1651." The volume never, I believe, appeared.

From the words "*who died in April*, 1616," it may be inferred that theſe lines were written recently after Shakſpeare's death, when the month and year in which he died were well known. At a more diſtant period the month would probably have been for-

To lodge all four in one bed make a ſhift
Until doomſday; for hardly will a fift[3]

gotten; and that was not an age of ſuch curioſity as would have induced a poet to ſearch the regiſter at Stratford on ſuch a ſubject. From the addreſs to Chaucer and Spenſer it ſhould ſeem, that when theſe verſes were compoſed the writer thought it probable that a cenotaph would be erected to Shakſpeare in Weſtminſter-Abbey.

There is a copy of theſe lines in a manuſcript volume of poems written by W. Herrick and others, among Rawlinſon's Collections in the Bodleian library at Oxford; and another among the Sloanian MSS. in the Muſeum, N°. 1702. In the Oxford Copy they are entitled "Shakſpeare's Epitaph;" but the author is not mentioned. There are ſome ſlight variations in the different copies, which I ſhall ſet down.

Line 2. To rare Beaumond, and learned Beaumond lie, &c. Edit. 1633.

Line 5. To *lodge in one bed all four* make a ſhift—MS. Brander.
To lodge all four in one bed, &c. MS. R. and S.
To *lie* all four, &c. Edit. 1633.

Line 7. So, B. S. and R.
—— by *fates* be ſlain. Edit. 1633.

Line 8. So, B. and S.
—— *will* be drawn again. R.
—— *need* be drawn again. 1633.

Line 9. But if precedency *of* death, &c. Edit. 1633.
If your precedency *in* death, &c. B. R. S.

Line 10. So, B. R. and edit. 1633.
A fourth to have place in your ſepulcher,—S.

Line 11. So, B. and R.
—— under this *curled* marble of thine own. Edit. 1633.
—— under this *fable*, &c. S.

Line 12. So, B. S. and edit. 1633.
Sleep, rare *comedian*, &c. R.

Line 13. So, B. and R.
Thine unmoleſted peace, unſhared cave—S.
Thy unmoleſted peace *in an unſhared* cave.— Edit. 1633.

Line 14. So, B.
Poſſeſs as lord not tenant *of the* grave. S.
———————— *to thy* grave. R.

This couplet is not in edit. 1633.

Line 15. So, edit. 1633.
That unto us, *or* others, &c. B. R. and S.

MALONE.

Betwixt this day and that by fate be ſlain,
For whom your curtains may be drawn again.
But if precedency in death doth bar
A fourth place in your ſacred ſepulchre,
Under this carved marble of thine own,
Sleep, rare tragedian, Shakſpeare, ſleep alone.
Thy unmoleſted peace, unſhared cave,
Poſſeſs, as lord, not tenant, of thy grave;
That unto us and others it may be
Honour hereafter to be laid by thee.

WILLIAM BASSE.

To the Memory of my Beloved,
the Author, Mr. WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE,
and what he hath left us.

To draw no envy, Shakſpeare, on thy name,
Am I thus ample to thy book, and fame;
While I confeſs thy writings to be ſuch,
As neither man, nor muſe, can praiſe too much;
'Tis true, and all men's ſuffrage: but theſe ways
Were not the paths I meant unto thy praiſe:
For ſeelieſt ignorance on theſe may light,
Which, when it ſounds at beſt, but echoes right;
Or blind affection, which doth ne'er advance
The truth, but gropes, and urgeth all by chance;
Or crafty malice might pretend this praiſe,
And think to ruin, where it ſeem'd to raiſe:
Theſe are, as ſome infámous bawd, or whore,
Should praiſe a matron; what could hurt her more?

[3] *Fifth* was formerly corruptly written and pronounced *fift*. I have adhered to the old ſpelling on account of the rhyme. This corrupt pronunciation yet prevails in Scotland, and in many parts of England. MALONE.

But thou art proof againſt them; and, indeed,
Above the ill fortune of them, or the need:
I, therefore, will begin:—Soul of the age,
The applauſe, delight, the wonder of our ſtage,
My Shakſpeare, riſe! I will not lodge thee by
Chaucer, or Spenſer; or bid Beaumont lie
A little further, to make thee a room:[4]
Thou art a monument, without a tomb;
And art alive ſtill, while thy book doth live,
And we have wits to read, and praiſe to give.
That I not mix thee ſo, my brain excuſes;
I mean, with great but diſproportion'd muſes:
For, if I thought my judgment were of years,
I ſhould commit thee ſurely with thy peers;
And tell—how far thou didſt our Lyly outſhine,[5]
Or ſporting Kyd,[6] or Marlowe's mighty line.[7]

[4] —— *to make thee a room:*] See the preceding verſes by Baſſe. MALONE.

[5] —— *our* Lyly *outſhine,*] *Lyly* wrote nine plays during the reign of Q. Eliz. viz. *Alexander and Campaſpe*, T. C.; *Endymion*, C; *Galatea*, C; *Loves Metamorphoſis*, Dram. Paſt.; *Maids Metamorphoſis*, C; *Mother Bombie*, C; *Mydas*, C; *Sapho and Phao*, C; and *Woman in the Moon*, C. To the pedantry of this author perhaps we are indebted for the firſt attempt to poliſh and reform our language. See his *Euphues and his England.* STEEVENS.

[6] —— *or ſporting* Kyd,] It appears from Heywood's *Apology for Actors* that *Thomas Kyd* was the author of the *Spaniſh Tragedy.* The late *Mr. Hawkins* was of opinion that *Soliman and Perſeda* was by the ſame hand. The only piece however, which has deſcended to us, even with the initial letters of his name affixed to it, is *Pompey the Great his fair Cornelia's Tragedy*, which was firſt publiſhed in 1594, and, with ſome alteration in the title-page, again in 1595. This is no more than a tranſlation from *Robert Garnier*, a French poet, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf during the reigns of Charles IX. Henry III. and Henry IV. and died at Mans in 1602, in the 56th year of his age. STEEVENS.

[7] —— *or* Marlowe's *mighty line.*] *Marlowe* was a performer as well as an author. His contemporary *Heywood* calls him *the beſt of our poets.* He wrote ſix tragedies, viz. *Dr. Fauſtus's Tragical*

And though thou hadſt ſmall Latin, and leſs Greek,
From thence to honour thee, I would not ſeek
For names; but call forth thund'ring Æſchylus,
Euripides, and Sophocles, to us,
Pacuvius, Accius, him of Cordoua dead,
To life again, to hear thy buſkin tread
And ſhake a ſtage: or, when thy ſocks were on,
Leave thee alone; for the compariſon
Of all, that inſolent Greece, or haughty Rome,
Sent forth, or ſince did from their aſhes come.
Triumph, my Britain! thou haſt one to ſhow,
To whom all ſcenes of Europe homage owe.
He was not of an age, but for all time;
And all the muſes ſtill were in their prime,
When like Apollo he came forth to warm
Our ears, or like a Mercury to charm.

Hiſtory; *King Edward II.*; *Jew of Malta*; *Luſt's Dominion*; *Maſſacre of Paris*; and *Tamburlaine the Great*, in two parts. He likewiſe joined with *Naſh* in writing *Dido Queen of Carthage*, and had begun a tranſlation of Muſæus's *Hero and Leander*, which was finiſhed by *Chapman*, and publiſhed in 1606. STEEVENS.

Chriſtopher Marlowe was born probably about the year 1566, as he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Cambridge, in 1583. I do not believe that he ever was an actor, nor can I find any authority for it higher than the *Theatrum Poetarum* of Philips, in 1674, which is inaccurate in many circumſtances. Beard, who four years after Marlowe's death gave a particular account of him, does not ſpeak of him as an actor. "He was," ſays that writer, "by profeſſion a ſcholler, brought up from his youth in the univerſitie of Cambridge, but by practice *a play-maker* and a *poet* of ſcurrilitie." Neither Drayton, nor Decker, nor Naſhe, nor the author of *The Return from Parnaſſus*, 1606, nor Heywood in his prologue to *The Jew of Malta*, give the ſlighteſt intimation of Marlowe's having trod the ſtage. He was ſtabbed in the ſtreet, and died of the wound, in 1593. His *Hero and Leander* was publiſhed in quarto, in 1598, by Edward Blount, as an imperfect work. The fragment ended with this line:

"Dang'd down to hell her loathſome carriage."

Chapman completed the poem, and publiſhed it as it now appears, in 1600. MALONE.

Nature herſelf was proud of his deſigns,
And joy'd to wear the dreſſing of his lines;
Which were ſo richly ſpun, and woven ſo fit,
As, ſince, ſhe will vouchſafe no other wit:
The merry Greek, tart Ariſtophanes,
Neat Terence, witty Plautus, now not pleaſe;
But antiquated and deſerted lie,
As they were not of Nature's family.
Yet muſt I not give nature all; thy art,
My gentle Shakſpeare, muſt enjoy a part:[8]—
For, though the poet's matter nature be,
His art doth give the faſhion: and that he,
Who caſts to write a living line, muſt ſweat,
(Such as thine are) and ſtrike the ſecond heat
Upon the muſes' anvil; turn the ſame,
(And himſelf with it) that he thinks to frame;
Or, for the laurel, he may gain a ſcorn,—
For a good poet's made, as well as born:
And ſuch wert thou. Look, how the father's face
Lives in his iſſue; even ſo the race
Of Shakſpeare's mind, and manners, brightly ſhines
In his well-torned and true-filed lines;[9]

[8] ——————— *thy* art,
My gentle Shakſpeare, muſt enjoy a part:] Yet this writer in his converſation with Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden in 1619, ſaid, that Shakſpeare "wanted *art*, and ſometimes ſenſe."
MALONE.

[9] —— *true*-filed *lines*;] The ſame praiſe is given to Shakſpeare by a preceding writer. "As Epius Stolo ſaid that the Muſes would ſpeak with Plautus his tongue, if they would ſpeak Latin, ſo I ſay that the Muſes would ſpeak with Shakſpeare's fine *filed* phraſe, if they would ſpeak Engliſh." *Wit's Treaſury*, by Francis Meres, 1598.
It is ſomewhat ſingular that at a ſubſequent period Shakſpeare was cenſured for the want of that elegance which is here juſtly attributed to him. "Though all the laws of Heroick Poem," ſays the author of *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1674, "all the laws of tragedy, were exactly obſerved, yet ſtill this *tour entrejanté*, this poetick *energie*, if I may ſo call it, would be required to give life to all the

In each of which he ſeems to ſhake a lance,
As brandiſh'd at the eyes of ignorance.
Sweet ſwan of Avon, what a ſight it were,
To ſee thee in our waters yet appear;
And make thoſe flights upon the banks of Thames,
That ſo did take Eliza, and our James!
But ſtay; I ſee thee in the hemiſphere
Advanc'd, and made a conſtellation there:—
Shine forth, thou ſtar of poets; and with rage,
Or influence, chide, or cheer, the drooping ſtage;
Which, ſince thy flight from hence, hath mourn'd
like night,
And deſpairs day, but for thy volume's light!

BEN JONSON.[a]

reſt; which ſhines through the rougheſt, moſt unpoliſh'd and antiquated language, and may haply be wanting in the moſt polite and reformed. Let us obſerve Spenſer, with all his ruſtick obſolete words, with all his rough-hewn clouterly phraſes, yet take him throughout, and we ſhall find in him a graceful and poetick majeſtie: in like manner Shakſpeare, in ſpite of all his *unfiled* expreſſions, his rambling and indigeſted fancies, the laughter of the critical, yet muſt be confeſs'd a poet above many that go beyond him in literature ſome degrees." MALONE.

In his well-turned *and true-filed lines*;] Jonſon is here tranſlating the claſſick phraſes *tornati & limati verſus*. Does not the poet in the next line by the expreſſion *ſhake a lance* intend to play on the name of *Shakſpeare?* So, in *Two Bookes of Epigrammes and Epitaphs*, by Thomas Bancroft, Lond. 1639, 4to.

"TO SHAKSPEARE:

"Thou haſt ſo uſed thy pen, (or *ſhooke thy ſpeare*,)
"That poets ſtartle, nor thy wit come near."

Dryden in the Dedication to his Tranſlation of Juvenal terms theſe verſes by Jonſon *an inſolent, ſparing, and invidious panegyrick.*

HOLT WHITE.

[a] —— *extinctus amabitur idem.*

This obſervation of Horace was never more completely verified than by the poſthumous applauſe which Ben Jonſon has beſtowed on *Shakſpeare:*

"—— the gracious *Duncan*
"Was pitied of *Macbeth*:—marry, *he was dead.*"

Upon the Lines, and Life, of the famous Scenick Poet, Maſter WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

Thoſe hands which you ſo clapp'd, go now and wring,
You Britains brave; for done are Shakſpeare's days;
His days are done that made the dainty plays,
Which made the globe of heaven and earth to ring:

Let us now compare the preſent eulogium of old *Ben* with ſuch of his other ſentiments as have reached poſterity.

In April, 1748, when *The Lover's Melancholy*, by Ford, (a friend and contemporary of Shakſpeare,) was revived for a benefit, the following letter appeared in the *General*, now the *Public Advertiſer*:

" ——It is hoped that the following *gleaning of theatrical hiſtory* will readily obtain a place in your paper. It is taken from a pamphlet written in the reign of Charles I. with this quaint title: 'Old *Ben's Light Heart* made heavy by Young *John's Melancholy Lover*;" and as it contains ſome hiſtorical anecdotes and altercations concerning *Ben Jonſon*, *Ford*, *Shakſpeare*, and *The Lover's Melancholy*, it is imagined that a few extracts from it at this juncture, will not be unentertaining to the publick.'

'Thoſe who have any knowledge of the theatre in the reigns of *James* and *Charles* the Firſt, muſt know, that *Ben Jonſon*, from great critical language, *which was then the portion but of very few*, his merit as a poet, and his conſtant aſſociation with men of letters, did, for a conſiderable time, *give laws to the ſtage*.'

'*Ben* was by nature *ſplenetic and four*; with a ſhare of envy, (for every anxious genius has ſome) more than was warrantable in ſociety. By education rather *critically* than *politely* learned; which ſwell'd his mind into an oſtentatious pride *of his own works*, and an overbearing *inexorable* judgment of his *contemporaries*.'

'This raiſed him many enemies, who towards the cloſe of his life endeavoured to dethrone *this tyrant*, as the pamphlet ſtiles him, out of the dominion of the theatre. And what greatly contributed to their deſign, was the *ſlights* and *malignances* which the *rigid Ben* too frequently threw out againſt the *lowly Shakſpeare*, whoſe fame ſince his death, as appears by the pamphlet, was grown too great for *Ben's envy* either to *bear* with or *wound*.'

Dry'd is that vein, dry'd is the Theſpian ſpring,
Turn'd all to tears, and Phœbus clouds his rays;
That corpſe, that coffin, now beſtick thoſe bays,
Which crown'd him poet firſt, then poets' king.

'It would greatly exceed the limits of your paper to ſet down all the *contempts* and *invectives* which were uttered and written by *Ben*, and are collected and produced in *this pamphlet*, as unanſwerable and ſhaming evidences to prove his *ill-nature* and *ingratitude* to *Shakſpeare*, who firſt introduced him to the *theatre and fame*.'

'But though the whole of theſe invectives cannot be ſet down at preſent, ſome few of the heads may not be diſagreeable, which are as follow.'

'That the man had *imagination* and *wit* none could deny, but that they were *ever* guided by *true judgment* in the *rules* and *conduct* of a piece, none could with juſtice aſſert, *both* being ever ſervile to raiſe the *laughter of fools* and the *wonder of the ignorant*. That he was a good poet only *in part*,—being ignorant of *all dramatick laws*,—had *little* Latin—*leſs* Greek—and ſpeaking of plays, &c.

'To make a child new ſwaddled, to proceed
'Man, and then ſhoot up, in one beard and weed,
'Paſt threeſcore years: or, with three ruſty ſwords,
'And help of ſome few *foot-and-half-foot* words,
'Fight over *York* and *Lancaſter's* long jars,
'And in the tiring-houſe bring wounds to ſcars.
'He rather prays you will be pleas'd to ſee
'One ſuch to-day, as *other plays ſhould be*;
'Where neither *chorus* wafts you o'er the ſeas,' &c.

'This and ſuch like behaviour, brought *Ben* at laſt from being the *lawgiver* of the theatre to be the *ridicule* of it, being *perſonally* introduced there in ſeveral pieces, to the *ſatisfaction* of the publick, who are ever fond of encouraging *perſonal* ridicule, when the follies and vices of the object are ſuppoſed to deſerve it.

'But what wounded his pride and fame moſt ſenſibly, was the preference which the publick and moſt of his contemporary wits, gave to *Ford's* LOVER'S MELANCHOLY, before his NEW INN OR LIGHT HEART. They were both brought on in the *ſame week* and on the ſame ſtage; where *Ben's was damn'd*, and *Ford's* received with *uncommon applauſe*: and what made this circumſtance ſtill more galling, was, that *Ford* was at the head of the partiſans who ſupported *Shakſpeare's fame* againſt *Ben Jonſon's Invectives*.'

'This ſo incenſed old *Ben*, that as an everlaſting ſtigma upon his audience, he prefixed this title to his play—" The *New Inn*, or

If tragedies might any prologue have,
All thoſe he made would ſcarce make one to this;
Where fame, now that he gone is to the grave,
(Death's publick tiring-houſe) the Nuntius is:

Light Heart. A comedy, as it was *never acted*, but moſt negligently play'd by ſome, the *King's idle ſervants*; and more ſqueamiſhly beheld and cenſur'd by others, the *King's fooliſh ſubjects.*" This title is followed by an abuſive preface upon the audience and reader.'

'Immediately upon this, he wrote his memorable ode againſt the publick, beginning

" Come, leave the loathed ſtage,
" And the more loathſome age," &c.

The revenge he took againſt *Ford*, was to write an epigram on him as a plagiary.

" *Playwright*, by chance, hearing *toys I had writ*,
" Cry'd to my face—they were th' elixir of wit.
" And I muſt now believe him, for to-day
" Five of my *jeſts*, then ſtoln, paſs'd him a play."

alluding to a character in *The Ladies Trial*, which *Ben* ſays *Ford* ſtole from him.'

'The *next* charge againſt *Ford* was, that *The Lover's Melancholy* was not his own, but *purloined from Shakſpeare's papers*, by the connivance of *Heminge and Condel*, who *in conjunction with Ford*, had the reviſal of them.'

'The malice of this charge is gravely refuted, and afterwards laughed at in many verſes and epigrams, the beſt of which are thoſe that follow, with which I ſhall cloſe this theatrical extract:'

'To my worthy friend, *John Ford.*

" 'Tis ſaid, from Shakſpeare's mine your play you drew;
" What need?—when Shakſpeare ſtill ſurvives in you:
" But grant it were from his vaſt treaſury reft,
" That *plund'rer Ben* ne'er made *ſo rich a theft.*"

Thomas May.

" Upon *Ben Jonſon*, and his Zany, *Tom Randolph.*

" Quoth *Ben* to *Tom*, the *Lover's* ſtole,
" 'Tis *Shakſpeare's* every word;
" Indeed, ſays *Tom*, upon the whole,
" 'Tis much too good for *Ford.*

" Thus *Ben* and *Tom* the *dead* ſtill praiſe,
" The *living* to decry;
" For none muſt dare to wear the bays,
" Till *Ben* and *Tom* both die.

For, though his line of life went ſoon about,
The life yet of his lines ſhall never out.

HUGH HOLLAND.[1]

To the Memory of the deceaſed Author, Maſter W. SHAKSPEARE.

Shakſpeare, at length thy pious fellows give
The world thy works; thy works, by which outlive
Thy tomb, thy name muſt: when that ſtone is rent,
And time diſſolves thy Stratford monument,
Here we alive ſhall view thee ſtill; this book,
When braſs and marble fade, ſhall make thee look
Freſh to all ages; when poſterity
Shall loath what's new, think all is prodigy

" Even *Avon's ſwan* could not eſcape
" Theſe letter-tyrant elves;
" They on his fame contriv'd a rape,
" To raiſe their pedant ſelves.

" But after times with full conſent
" This truth will all acknowledge,—
" *Shakſpeare* and *Ford* from heaven were ſent,
" *But Ben and Tom from college.*"

Endymion Porter.

Mr. Macklin the comedian was the author of this letter; but the pamphlet which furniſhed his materials, was loſt in its paſſage from Ireland.

The following ſtanza, from a copy of verſes by Shirley, prefixed to Ford's *Love's Sacrifice*, 1633, alludes to the ſame diſpute, and is apparently addreſſed to Ben Jonſon:

" Look here *thou* that haſt *malice* to the ſtage,
" And *impudence* enough for the whole age;
" *Voluminouſly ignorant!* be vext
" To read this tragedy, and thy owne be next."

STEEVENS.

[1] See Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* edit. 1721, Vol. I. p. 583.
STEEVENS.

That is not Shakſpeare's, every line, each verſe,
Here ſhall revive, redeem thee from thy herſe.
Nor fire, nor cank'ring age,—as Naſo ſaid
Of his,—thy wit-fraught book ſhall once invade:
Nor ſhall I e'er believe or think thee dead,
Though miſs'd, until our bankrout ſtage be ſped
(Impoſſible) with ſome new ſtrain to out-do
Paſſions "of Juliet, and her Romeo;"
Or till I hear a ſcene more nobly take,
Than when thy half-ſword parlying Romans ſpake:
Till theſe, till any of thy volume's reſt,
Shall with more fire, more feeling, be expreſs'd,
Be ſure, our Shakſpeare, thou canſt never die,
But, crown'd with laurel, live eternally.

L. DIGGES.[4]

To the Memory of Maſter W. SHAKSPEARE.

We wonder'd, Shakſpeare, that thou went'ſt ſo
ſoon
From the world's ſtage to the grave's tiring-room:
We thought thee dead; but this thy printed worth
Tells thy ſpectators, that thou went'ſt but forth
To enter with applauſe: an actor's art
Can die, and live to act a ſecond part;
That's but an exit of mortality,
This a re-entrance to a plaudite. J. M.[5]

[4] See Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, Vol. I. p. 599 and 600, edit. 1721. His tranſlation of Claudian's *Rape of Proſerpine* was entered on the Stationers' books, Oct 4, 1617. STEEVENS.

It was printed in the ſame year. MALONE.

[5] Perhaps John Marſton. STEEVENS.

Upon the effigies of my worthy Friend, the Author, Maſter WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, and his Works.

Spectator, this life's ſhadow is;—to ſee
The truer image, and a livelier he,
Turn reader: but obſerve his comick vein,
Laugh; and proceed next to a tragick ſtrain,
Then weep: ſo,—when thou find'ſt two contraries,
Two different paſſions from thy rapt ſoul riſe,—
Say, (who alone effect ſuch wonders could,)
Rare Shakſpeare to the life thou doſt behold.[6]

On worthy Maſter SHAKSPEARE, and his Poems.

A mind reflecting ages paſt, whoſe clear
And equal ſurface can make things appear,
Diſtant a thouſand years, and repreſent
Them in their lively colours, juſt extent:
To outrun haſty time, retrieve the fates,
Roll back the heavens, blow ope the iron gates
Of death and Lethe, where confuſed lie
Great heaps of ruinous mortality:
In that deep duſky dungeon, to diſcern
A royal ghoſt from churls; by art to learn
The phyſiognomy of ſhades, and give
Them ſudden birth, wond'ring how oft they live;
What ſtory coldly tells, what poets feign
At ſecond hand, and picture without brain,
Senſeleſs and ſoul-leſs ſhews: To give a ſtage,—
Ample, and true with life,—voice, action, age,

[6] Theſe verſes firſt appeared in the folio, 1632. There is no name ſubſcribed to them. MALONE.

As Plato's year, and new ſcene of the world,
Them unto us, or us to them had hurl'd:
To raiſe our ancient ſovereigns from their herſe,
Make kings his ſubjects; by exchanging verſe
Enlive their pale trunks, that the preſent age
Joys in their joy, and trembles at their rage:
Yet ſo to temper paſſion, that our ears
Take pleaſure in their pain, and eyes in tears
Both weep and ſmile; fearful at plots ſo ſad,
Then laughing at our fear; abus'd, and glad
To be abus'd; affected with that truth
Which we perceive is falſe, pleas'd in that ruth
At which we ſtart, and, by elaborate play,
Tortur'd and tickl'd; by a crab-like way
Time paſt made paſtime, and in ugly ſort
Diſgorging up his ravin for our ſport:—
—While the plebeian imp, from lofty throne,
Creates and rules a world, and works upon
Mankind by ſecret engines; now to move
A chilling pity, then a rigorous love;
To ſtrike up and ſtroke down, both joy and ire;
To ſteer the affections; and by heavenly fire
Mold us anew, ſtoln from ourſelves:——
This,—and much more, which cannot be expreſs'd
But by himſelf, his tongue, and his own breaſt,—
Was Shakſpeare's freehold; which his cunning brain
Improv'd by favour of the nine-fold train;—
The buſkin'd muſe, the comick queen, the grand
And louder tone of Clio, nimble hand
And nimbler foot of the melodious pair,
The ſilver-voiced lady, the moſt fair
Calliope, whoſe ſpeaking ſilence daunts,
And ſhe whoſe praiſe the heavenly body chants,
Theſe jointly woo'd him, envying one another;—
Obey'd by all as ſpouſe, but lov'd as brother;—

And wrought a curious robe, of ſable grave,
Freſh green, and pleaſant yellow, red moſt brave,
And conſtant blue, rich purple, guiltleſs white,
The lowly ruſſet, and the ſcarlet bright:
Branch'd and embroider'd like the painted ſpring;
Each leaf match'd with a flower, and each ſtring
Of golden wire, each line of ſilk: there run
Italian works, whoſe thread the ſiſters ſpun;
And there did ſing, or ſeem to ſing, the choice
Birds of a foreign note and various voice:
Here hangs a moſſy rock; there plays a fair
But chiding fountain, purled: not the air,
Not clouds, nor thunder, but were living drawn;
Nor out of common tiffany or lawn,
But fine materials, which the muſes know,
And only know the countries where they grow.
Now, when they could no longer him enjoy,
In mortal garments pent,—death may deſtroy,
They ſay, his body; but his verſe ſhall live,
And more than nature takes our hands ſhall give:
In a leſs volume, but more ſtrongly bound,
Shakſpeare ſhall breathe and ſpeak; with laurel crown'd,
Which never fades; fed with ambroſian meat,
In a well-lined veſture, rich, and neat:
So with this robe they clothe him, bid him wear it;
For time ſhall never ſtain, nor envy tear it.

The friendly Admirer of his Endowments,
J. M. S.[7]

[7] Probably, Jaſper Mayne, *Student*. He was born in the year 1604, and became a member of Chriſt Church, in Oxford, in 1623, where he was ſoon afterwards elected a Student. In 1628 he took a bachelor's degree, and in June 1631, that of a Maſter of Arts. Theſe verſes firſt appeared in the folio, 1632. MALONE.

A Remembrance of ſome Engliſh Poets. By Richard Barnefield, 1598.

And Shakſpeare thou, whoſe honey-flowing vein
(Pleaſing the world,) thy praiſes doth contain,
Whoſe *Venus*, and whoſe *Lucrece*, ſweet and chaſte,
Thy name in fame's immortal book hath plac'd,
Live ever you, at leaſt in fame live ever!
Well may the body die, but fame die never.

England's Mourning Garment, &c. 1603.

Nor doth the ſilver-tongued Melicert
Drop from his honied muſe one ſable tear,
To mourn her death that graced his deſert,
And to his laies open'd her royal ear.
Shepherd, remember our Elizabeth,
And ſing her *Rape*, done by that *Tarquin*, death.

To Maſter W. SHAKSPEARE.

Shakſpeare, that nimble Mercury thy brain
Lulls many-hundred Argus' eyes aſleep,
So fit for all thou faſhioneſt thy vein,
At the horſe-foot fountain thou haſt drunk full deep.
Virtue's or vice's theme to thee all one is;
Who loves chaſte life, there's *Lucrece* for a teacher:
Who liſt read luſt, there's *Venus* and *Adonis*,
True model of a moſt laſcivious lecher.
Beſides, in plays thy wit winds like Meander,
When needy new compoſers borrow more
Than Terence doth from Plautus or Menander:
But to praiſe thee aright, I want thy ſtore.

Then let thine own works thine own worth upraiſe,
And help to adorn thee with deſerved bays.

Epigram 92, in an ancient collection, entitled *Run and a great Caſt*, 4to. by Tho. Freeman, 1614.

Extract from Michael Drayton's "Elegy to Henry Reynolds, Eſq. of Poets and Poeſy."

Shakſpeare, thou hadſt as ſmooth a comick vein,
Fitting the ſock, and in thy natural brain
As ſtrong conception, and as clear a rage,
As any one that traffick'd with the ſtage.

An Epitaph on the
Admirable Dramatick Poet, W. SHAKSPEARE.[8]

What needs my Shakſpeare for his honour'd bones,
The labour of an age in piled ſtones;
Or that his hallow'd reliques ſhould be hid
Under a ſtar-ypointing pyramid?
Dear ſon of memory, great heir of fame,
What need'ſt thou ſuch weak witneſs of thy name?
Thou, in our wonder and aſtoniſhment,
Haſt built thyſelf a live-long monument:
For whilſt, to the ſhame of ſlow-endeavouring art,
Thy eaſy numbers flow; and that each heart

[8] This poem is one of thoſe prefixed to the folio edition of our author's plays 1632, and therefore is the firſt of Milton's pieces that was publiſhed. It appeared, however, without even the initials of his name. STEEVENS.

Hath, from the leaves of thy unvalued book,
Thoſe Delphick lines with deep impreſſion took;
Then thou, our fancy of itſelf bereaving,[9]
Doſt make us marble with too much conceiving;
And, ſo ſepulcher'd, in ſuch pomp doſt lie,
That kings, for ſuch a tomb, would wiſh to die.

JOHN MILTON.[2]

Upon Maſter WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, the deceaſed Author.

Poets are born, not made. When I would prove
This truth, the glad remembrance I muſt love
Of never-dying Shakſpeare, who alone
Is argument enough to make that one.
Firſt, that he was a poet, none would doubt
That heard the applauſe of what he ſees ſet out
Imprinted; where thou haſt (I will not ſay,
Reader, his *works*, for, to contrive a play,
To him 'twas none,) the pattern of all wit,
Art without art, unparallel'd as yet.
Next Nature only help'd him, for look thorough
This whole book,[3] thou ſhall find he doth not borrow

[9] —— *of* itſelf *bereaving*,] So, the copy in Milton's Poems, printed by Moſely in 1645. That in the ſecond folio, 1632, has —of *herſelf* bereaving. MALONE.

[2] Theſe verſes were written by Milton in the year 1630. Notwithſtanding this juſt eulogium, and though the writer of it appears to have been a very diligent reader of the works of our poet, from whoſe rich garden he has plucked many a flower, in the true ſpirit of ſour puritanical ſanctity he cenſured King Charles I. for having made this "great heir of fame" the *cloſet companion of his ſolitudes*. See his Εικονοκλαστης. MALONE.

[3] The Fortune company, I find from Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript, removed to the Red Bull, and the Prince's Company to the Fortune, in the year 1640; theſe verſes therefore could not have been written ſo early as 1623. MALONE.

One phraſe from Greeks, nor Latins imitate,
Nor once from vulgar languages tranſlate;
Nor plagiary-like from others gleane,
Nor begs he from each witty friend a ſcene,
To piece his acts with: all that he doth write
Is pure his own; plot, language, exquiſite.
But O what praiſe more powerful can we give
The dead, than that, by him, the *king's-men* live,
His players; which ſhould they but have ſhar'd his fate,
(All elſe expir'd within the ſhort term's date,)
How could *The Globe* have proſper'd, ſince through want
Of change, the plays and poems had grown ſcant.
But, happy verſe, thou ſhalt be ſung and heard,
When hungry quills ſhall be ſuch honour barr'd.
Then vaniſh, upſtart writers to each ſtage,
You needy poetaſters of this age!
Where Shakſpeare liv'd or ſpake, Vermin, forbear!
Leſt with your froth ye ſpot them, come not near!
But if you needs muſt write, if poverty
So pinch, that otherwiſe you ſtarve and die;
On God's name may the *Bull* or *Cockpit* have
Your lame blank verſe, to keep you from the grave:
Or let new *Fortune's*[4] younger brethren ſee,
What they can pick from your lean induſtry.
I do not wonder when you offer at
Black-friars, that you ſuffer: 'tis the fate
Of richer veins; prime judgments, that have far'd
The worſe, with this deceaſed man compar'd.
So have I ſeen, when *Cæſar* would appear,
And on the ſtage at half-ſword parley were

[4] This, I believe, alludes to ſome of the company of *The Fortune* playhouſe, who removed to the *Red Bull*. See a Prologue on the removing of the late *Fortune* players to *The Bull*. Tatham's *Fancies Theatre*, 1640. MALONE.

Brutus and *Caſſius*, O how the audience
Were raviſh'd! with what wonder they went thence!
When, ſome new day, they would not brook a line
Of tedious, though well-labour'd, *Catiline*;
Sejanus too, was irkſome; they priz'd more
"Honeſt" *Iago*, or the jealous *Moor*.
And though the *Fox* and ſubtil *Alchymiſt*,
Long intermitted, could not quite be miſt,
Though theſe have ſham'd all th' ancients, and might raiſe
Their author's merit with a crown of bays,
Yet theſe ſometimes, even at a friend's deſire,
Acted, have ſcarce defray'd the ſea-coal fire,
And door-keepers: when, let but *Falſtaff* come,
Hal, *Poins*, the reſt,—you ſcarce ſhall have a room,
All is ſo peſter'd: Let but *Beatrice*
And *Benedick* be ſeen, lo! in a trice
The cock-pit, galleries, boxes, all are full,
To hear *Malvolio*, that croſs-garter'd gull.
Brief, there is nothing in his wit-fraught book,
Whoſe ſound we would not hear, on whoſe worth look:
Like old-coin'd gold, whoſe lines, in every page,
Shall paſs true current to ſucceeding age.
But why do I dead *Shakſpeare's* praiſe recite?
Some ſecond *Shakſpeare* muſt of *Shakſpeare* write;
For me, 'tis needleſs; ſince an hoſt of men
Will pay, to clap his praiſe, to free my pen.[5]

LEON. DIGGES.

[5] Theſe verſes are prefixed to a ſpurious edition of Shakſpeare's poems, in ſmall octavo, printed in 1640. MALONE.

An Elegy on the death of that famous writer and actor, Mr. WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

I dare not do thy memory that wrong,
Unto our larger griefs to give a tongue.
I'll only ſigh in earneſt, and let fall
My ſolemn tears at thy great funeral.
For every eye that rains a ſhow'r for thee,
Laments thy loſs in a ſad elegy.
Nor is it fit each humble muſe ſhould have
Thy worth his ſubject, now thou art laid in grave.
No, it's a flight beyond the pitch of thoſe,
Whoſe worthleſs pamphlets are not ſenſe in proſe.
Let learned *Jonſon* ſing a dirge for thee,
And fill our orb with mournful harmony:
But we need no remembrancer; thy fame
Shall ſtill accompany thy honour'd name
To all poſterity; and make us be
Senſible of what we loſt, in loſing thee:
Being the age's wonder; whoſe ſmooth rhymes
Did more reform than laſh the looſer times.
Nature herſelf did her own ſelf admire,
As oft as thou wert pleaſed to attire
Her in her native luſtre; and confeſs,
Thy dreſſing was her chiefeſt comelineſs.
How can we then forget thee, when the age
Her chiefeſt tutor, and the widow'd ſtage
Her only favorite, in thee, hath loſt,
And Nature's ſelf, what ſhe did brag of moſt?
Sleep then, rich ſoul of numbers! whilſt poor we
Enjoy the profits of thy legacy;
And think it happineſs enough, we have
So much of thee redeemed from the grave,
As may ſuffice to enlighten future times
With the bright luſtre of thy matchleſs rhymes.[6]

[6] Theſe anonymous verſes are likewiſe prefixed to Shakſpeare's Poems, 1640. MALONE.

In Memory of our famous SHAKSPEARE.

Sacred Spirit, whiles thy lyre
  Echoed o'er the Arcadian plains,
Even Apollo did admire,
  Orpheus wonder'd at thy ſtrains:

Plautus ſigh'd, Sophocles wept
  Tears of anger, for to hear,
After they ſo long had ſlept,
  So bright a genius ſhould appear;

Who wrote his lines with a ſun-beam,
  More durable than time or fate:—
Others boldly do blaſpheme,
  Like thoſe that ſeem to preach, but prate.

Thou wert truly prieſt elect,
  Choſen darling to the Nine,
Such a trophy to erect
  By thy wit and ſkill divine.

That were all their other glories
  (Thine excepted) torn away,
By thy admirable ſtories
  Their garments ever ſhall be gay.

Where thy honour'd bones do lie,
  (As Statius once to Maro's urn,)
Thither every year will I
  Slowly tread, and ſadly mourn.

S. SHEPPARD.[7]

[7] This author publiſhed a ſmall volume of *Epigrams* in 1651, among which this poem in memory of Shakſpeare is found.
MALONE.

To Shakspeare.

Thy Muſe's ſugred dainties ſeem to us
Like the fam'd apples of old Tantalus:
For we (admiring) ſee and hear thy ſtrains,
But none I ſee or hear thoſe ſweets attains.[8]

To Mr. William Shakspeare.[9]

Shakſpeare, we muſt be ſilent in thy praiſe,
'Cauſe our encomions will but blaſt thy bays,
Which envy could not; that thou didſt do well,
Let thine own hiſtories prove thy chronicle.[9]

In remembrance of Maſter William Shakspeare.

Ode.

I.

Beware, delighted poets, when you ſing,
To welcome nature in the early ſpring,
Your num'rous feet not tread
The banks of Avon; for each flow'r,
As it ne'er knew a ſun or ſhow'r,
Hangs there the penſive head.

II.

Each tree, whoſe thick and ſpreading growth hath made
Rather a night beneath the boughs than ſhade,
Unwilling now to grow,
Looks like the plume a captain wears,
Whoſe rifled *falls* are ſteep'd i'the tears
Which from his laſt rage flow.

[8] Theſe verſes are taken from *Two Bookes of Epigrammes and Epitaphs, by Thomas Bancroft, Lond.* 1639, 4to. Holt White.

[9] From *Wits Recreations*, &c. 12mo. 1640. Steevens.

III.

The piteous river wept itſelf away
Long ſince alas! to ſuch a ſwift decay,
That reach the map, and look
If you a river there can ſpy,
And, for a river, your mock'd eye
Will find a ſhallow brook.

WILLIAM D'AVENANT.

Part of Shirley's Prologue to The Siſters.

And if you leave us too, we cannot thrive,
I'll promiſe neither play nor poet live
Till ye come back: think what you do; you ſee
What audience we have: what company
To Shakſpeare comes? whoſe mirth did once beguile
Dull hours, and buſkin'd, made even ſorrow ſmile:
So lovely were the wounds, that men would ſay
They could endure the bleeding a whole day.

See, my lov'd Britons, ſee your Shakſpeare riſe,
An awful ghoſt, confeſs'd to human eyes!
Unnam'd, methinks, diſtinguiſh'd I had been
From other ſhades, by this eternal green,
About whoſe wreaths the vulgar poets ſtrive,
And with a touch their wither'd bays revive.
Untaught, unpractis'd, in a barbarous age,
I found not, but created firſt the ſtage:
And if I drain'd no Greek or Latin ſtore,
'Twas, that my own abundance gave me more:
On foreign trade I needed not rely,
Like fruitful Britain rich without ſupply.

Dryden's Prologue to his Alteration of Troilus and Creſſida.

Shakſpeare, who (taught by none) did firſt impart
To Fletcher wit, to labouring Jonſon art:
He, monarch-like, gave thoſe his ſubjects law,
And is that nature which they paint and draw.
Fletcher reach'd that which on his heights did grow,
Whilſt Jonſon crept and gather'd all below.
This did his love, and this his mirth digeſt:
One imitates him moſt, the other beſt.
If they have ſince out-writ all other men,
'Tis with the drops which fell from Shakſpeare's pen.
Dryden's Prologue to his Alteration of the Tempeſt.

Our Shakſpeare wrote too in an age as bleſt,
The happieſt poet of his time, and beſt;
A gracious prince's favour cheer'd his muſe,
A conſtant favour he ne'er fear'd to loſe:
Therefore he wrote with fancy unconfin'd,
And thoughts that were immortal as his mind.
Otway's Prologue to Caius Marius.

Shakſpeare, whoſe genius to itſelf a law,
Could men in every height of nature draw.
Rowe's Prologue to the Ambitious Stepmother.

In ſuch an age immortal Shakſpeare wrote,
By no quaint rules nor hamp'ring criticks taught;
With rough majeſtick force he mov'd the heart,
And ſtrength and nature made amends for art.
Rowe's Prologue to Jane Shore.

Shakſpeare, the genius of our iſle, whoſe mind
(The univerſal mirror of mankind)

Expreſs'd all images, enrich'd the ſtage,
But ſometimes ſtoop'd to pleaſe a barb'rous age.
When his immortal bays began to grow,
Rude was the language, and the humour low.
He, like the god of day, was always bright;
But rolling in its courſe, his orb of light
Was ſully'd and obſcur'd, though ſoaring high,
With ſpots contracted from the nether ſky.
But whither is the advent'rous muſe betray'd?
Forgive her raſhneſs, venerable ſhade!
May ſpring with purple flowers perfume thy urn,
And Avon with his greens thy grave adorn!
Be all thy faults, whatever faults there be,
Imputed to the times, and not to thee!
Some ſcions ſhot from this immortal root,
Their tops much lower, and leſs fair the fruit.
Jonſon the tribute of my verſe might claim,
Had he not ſtrove to blemiſh Shakſpeare's name.
But like the radiant twins that gild the ſphere,
Fletcher and Beaumont next in pomp appear.

Fenton's Epiſtle to Southerne, 1711.

——— For lofty ſenſe,
Creative fancy, and inſpection keen
Through the deep windings of the human heart,
Is not wild Shakſpeare thine and nature's boaſt?

Thomſon's Summer.

Shakſpeare (whom you and every playhouſe bill
Style the divine, the matchleſs, what you will,)
For gain, not glory, wing'd his roving flight,
And grew immortal in his own deſpight.

Pope's Imitation of Horace's Epiſtle to Auguſtus.

An Inſcription for a Monument of SHAKSPEARE.

O youths and virgins: O declining eld:
O pale misfortune's ſlaves: O ye who dwell
Unknown with humble quiet; ye who wait
In courts, or fill the golden ſeat of kings:
O ſons of ſport and pleaſure: O thou wretch
That weep'ſt for jealous love, or the ſore wounds
Of conſcious guilt, or death's rapacious hand,
Which left thee void of hope: O ye who roam
In exile; ye who through the embattled field
Seek bright renown; or who for nobler palms
Contend, the leaders of a publick cauſe;
Approach: behold this marble. Know ye not
The features? Hath not oft his faithful tongue
Told you the faſhion of your own eſtate,
The ſecrets of your boſom? Here then, round
His monument with reverence while ye ſtand,
Say to each other: "This was Shakſpeare's form;
"Who walk'd in every path of human life,
"Felt every paſſion; and to all mankind
"Doth now, will ever, that experience yield
"Which his own genius only could acquire."

AKENSIDE.

From the ſame Author's Pleaſures of Imagination, B. III.

——————— when lightning fires
The arch of heaven, and thunders rock the ground,
When furious whirlwinds rend the howling air,
And ocean, groaning from his loweſt bed,
Heaves his tempeſtuous billows to the ſky;
Amid the mighty uproar, while below
The nations tremble, Shakſpeare looks abroad
From ſome high cliff, ſuperiour, and enjoys
The elemental war.

From the Remonſtrance of SHAKSPEARE,
Suppoſed to have been ſpoken at the Theatre-Royal, when the French Comedians were acting by ſubſcription.

By the ſame Author.

What though the footſteps of my devious muſe
The meaſur'd walks of Grecian art refuſe?
Or though the frankneſs of my hardy ſtyle
Mock the nice touches of the critick's file?
Yet what my age and climate held to view
Impartial I ſurvey'd, and fearleſs drew.
And ſay, ye ſkilful in the human heart,
Who know to prize a poet's nobleſt part,
What age, what clime, could e'er an ampler field
For lofty thought, for daring fancy yield?
I ſaw this England break the ſhameful bands
Forg'd for the ſouls of men by ſacred hands;
I ſaw each groaning realm her aid implore;
Her ſons the heroes of each warlike ſhore;
Her naval ſtandard, (the dire Spaniard's bane,)
Obey'd through all the circuit of the main.
Then too great commerce, for a late-found world,
Around your coaſt her eager ſails unfurl'd:
New hopes new paſſions thence the boſom fir'd;
New plans, new arts, the genius thence inſpir'd;
Thence every ſcene which private fortune knows,
In ſtronger life, with bolder ſpirit, roſe.
Diſgrac'd I this full proſpect which I drew?
My colours languid, or my ſtrokes untrue?
Have not your ſages, warriors, ſwains, and kings,
Confeſs'd the living draught of men and things?
What other bard in any clime appears,
Alike the maſter of your ſmiles and tears?
Yet have I deign'd your audience to entice
With wretched bribes to luxury and vice?

Or have my various ſcenes a purpoſe known,
Which freedom, virtue, glory, might not own?

When learning's triumph o'er her barb'rous foes
Firſt rear'd the ſtage, immortal Shakſpeare roſe;
Each change of many-colour'd life he drew,
Exhauſted worlds, and then imagin'd new:
Exiſtence ſaw him ſpurn her bounded reign,
And panting time toil'd after him in vain:
His pow'rful ſtrokes preſiding truth impreſs'd,
And unreſiſted paſſion ſtorm'd the breaſt.

Prologue at the opening of Drury-lane Theatre in 1747. By Dr. Samuel Johnſon.

Upon Shakſpeare's Monument at Stratford-upon-Avon.

Great Homer's birth ſeven rival cities claim;
Too mighty ſuch monopoly of fame.
Yet not to birth alone did Homer owe
His wond'rous worth; what Egypt could beſtow,
With all the ſchools of Greece and Aſia join'd,
Enlarg'd the immenſe expanſion of his mind:
Nor yet unrival'd the Mæonian ſtrain;
The Britiſh Eagle[a] and the Mantuan Swan
Tow'r equal heights. But, happier Stratford, thou
With inconteſted laurels deck thy brow;
Thy bard was thine *unſchool'd*, and from thee brought
More than all Egypt, Greece, or Aſia taught;
Not Homer's ſelf ſuch matchleſs laurels won;
The Greek has rivals, but thy Shakſpeare none.

T. SEWARD.

[a] Milton.

From Mr. Collins's Epiſtle to Sir Thomas Hanmer on his edition of Shakſpeare's works.

Hard was the lot thoſe injur'd ſtrains endur'd,
Unown'd by ſcience, and by years obſcur'd:
Fair fancy wept; and echoing ſighs confeſs'd
A fixt deſpair in every tuneful breaſt.
Not with more grief the afflicted ſwains appear,
When wintry winds deform the plenteous year;
When lingering froſts the ruin'd ſeats invade
Where Peace reſorted, and the Graces play'd.

Each riſing art, by juſt gradation moves,
Toil builds on toil, and age on age improves:
The muſe alone unequal dealt her rage,
And grac'd with nobleſt pomp her earlieſt ſtage.
Preſerv'd through time, the ſpeaking ſcenes impart
Each changeful wiſh of Phædra's tortur'd heart;
Or paint the curſe, that mark'd the Theban's[3] reign,
A bed inceſtuous, and a father ſlain.
With kind concern our pitying eyes o'erflow,
Trace the ſad tale, and own another's woe.

To Rome remov'd, with wit ſecure to pleaſe,
The comick ſiſters kept their native eaſe.
With jealous fear declining Greece beheld
Her own Menander's art almoſt excell'd:
But every Muſe eſſay'd to raiſe in vain
Some labour'd rival of her tragick ſtrain;
Illyſſus' laurels, though transferr'd with toil,
Droop'd their fair leaves, nor knew th' unfriendly ſoil.

[3] The Oedipus of Sophocles.

As arts expir'd, reſiſtleſs Dullneſs roſe;
Goths, prieſts, or Vandals,—all were learning's foes.
Till Julius[4] firſt recall'd each exil'd maid,
And Coſmo own'd them in the Etrurian ſhade:
Then deeply ſkill'd in love's engaging theme,
The ſoft Provencial paſs'd to Arno's ſtream:
With graceful eaſe the wanton lyre he ſtrung;
Sweet flow'd the lays,—but love was all he ſung.
The gay deſcription could not fail to move;
For, led by nature, all are friends to love.

But heaven, ſtill various in its works, decreed
The perfect boaſt of time ſhould laſt ſucceed.
The beauteous union muſt appear at length,
Of Tuſcan fancy, and Athenian ſtrength:
One greater Muſe Eliza's reign adorn,
And even a Shakſpeare to her fame be born.

Yet ah! ſo bright her morning's opening ray,
In vain our Britain hop'd an equal day.
No ſecond growth the weſtern iſle could bear,
At once exhauſted with too rich a year.
Too nicely Jonſon knew the critick's part;
Nature in him was almoſt loſt in art.
Of ſofter mold the gentle Fletcher came,
The next in order, as the next in name.
With pleas'd attention 'midſt his ſcenes we find
Each glowing thought, that warms the female mind;
Each melting ſigh, and every tender tear,
The lover's wiſhes, and the virgin's fear.
His every ſtrain the Smiles and Graces own;[5]
But ſtronger Shakſpeare felt for man alone:

[4] Julius II. the immediate predeceſſor of Leo X.

[5] Their characters are thus diſtinguiſhed by Mr. Dryden.

Drawn by his pen, our ruder paſſions ſtand
Th' unrivall'd picture of his early hand.

With gradual ſteps,[6] and ſlow, exacter France
Saw Art's fair empire o'er her ſhores advance:
By length of toil a bright perfection knew,
Correctly bold, and juſt in all ſhe drew:
Till late Corneille, with Lucan's[7] ſpirit fir'd,
Breath'd the free ſtrain, as Rome and He inſpir'd;
And claſſick judgment gain'd to ſweet Racine
The temperate ſtrength of Maro's chaſter line.

But wilder far the Britiſh laurel ſpread,
And wreaths leſs artful crown our poet's head.
Yet He alone to every ſcene could give
The hiſtorian's truth, and bid the manners live.
Wak'd at his call I view, with glad ſurprize,
Majeſtick forms of mighty monarchs riſe.
There Henry's trumpets ſpread their loud alarms,
And laurell'd Conqueſt waits her hero's arms.
Here gentler Edward claims a pitying ſigh,
Scarce born to honours, and ſo ſoon to die!
Yet ſhall thy throne, unhappy infant, bring
No beam of comfort to the guilty king:
The time ſhall come,[8] when Gloſter's heart ſhall bleed
In life's laſt hours, with horror of the deed:
When dreary viſions ſhall at laſt preſent
Thy vengeful image in the midnight tent:

[6] About the time of Shakſpeare, the poet Hardy was in great repute in France. He wrote, according to Fontenelle, ſix hundred plays. The French poets after him applied themſelves in general to the correct improvement of the ſtage, which was almoſt totally diſregarded by thoſe of our own country, Jonſon excepted.

[7] The favourite author of the elder Corneille.

[8] Turno tempus erit, magno cùm optaverit emptum
Intactum Pallanta, &c.

Thy hand unſeen the ſecret death ſhall bear,
Blunt the weak ſword, and break the oppreſſive ſpear.

Where'er we turn, by fancy charm'd, we find
Some ſweet illuſion of the cheated mind.
Oft, wild of wing, ſhe calls the ſoul to rove
With humbler nature, in the rural grove;
Where ſwains contented own the quiet ſcene,
And twilight fairies tread the circled green:
Dreſs'd by her hand, the woods and vallies ſmile,
And Spring diffuſive decks the inchanted iſle.

O more than all in powerful genius bleſt,
Come, take thine empire o'er the willing breaſt!
Whate'er the wounds this youthful heart ſhall feel,
Thy ſongs ſupport me, and thy morals heal.
There every thought the poet's warmth may raiſe,
There native muſick dwells in all the lays.
O might ſome verſe with happieſt ſkill perſuade
Expreſſive Picture to adopt thine aid!
What wondrous draughts might riſe from every page!
What other Raphaels charm a diſtant age!

Methinks even now I view ſome free deſign,
Where breathing Nature lives in every line:
Chaſte and ſubdued the modeſt lights decay,
Steal into ſhades, and mildly melt away.
—And ſee, where Antony,[9] in tears approv'd,
Guards the pale relicks of the chief he lov'd:
O'er the cold corſe the warrior ſeems to bend,
Deep ſunk in grief, and mourns his murder'd friend!
Still as they preſs, he calls on all around,
Lifts the torn robe, and points the bleeding wound.

[9] See the tragedy of Julius Cæſar.

But who is he,[2] whoſe brows exalted bear
A wrath impatient, and a fiercer air?
Awake to all that injur'd worth can feel,
On his own Rome he turns the avenging ſteel.
Yet ſhall not war's inſatiate fury fall
(So heaven ordains it) on the deſtin'd wall.
See the fond mother, 'midſt the plaintive train,
Hung on his knees, and proſtrate on the plain!
Touch'd to the ſoul, in vain he ſtrives to hide
The ſon's affection in the Roman's pride:
O'er all the man conflicting paſſions riſe,
Rage graſps the ſword, while Pity melts the eyes.

Methinks I ſee with Fancy's magick eye,
The ſhade of Shakſpeare, in yon azure ſky.
On yon high cloud behold the bard advance,
Piercing all Nature with a ſingle glance:
In various attitudes around him ſtand
The Paſſions, waiting for his dread command.
Firſt kneeling Love before his feet appears,
And muſically ſighing melts in tears.
Near him fell Jealouſy with fury burns,
And into ſtorms the amorous breathings turns;
Then Hope with heavenward look, and Joy draws near,
While palſied Terror trembles in the rear.
Such Shakſpeare's train of horror and delight, &c.
Chriſtopher Smart's Prologue to Othello, 1751.

What are the lays of artful Addiſon,
Coldly correct, to Shakſpeare's warblings wild?
Whom on the winding Avon's willow'd banks
Fair Fancy found, and bore the ſmiling babe

[2] Coriolanus. See Mr. Spence's dialogue on the Odyſſey.

To a cloſe cavern: (ſtill the ſhepherds ſhew
The ſacred place, whence with religious awe
They hear, returning from the field at eve,
Strange whiſp'ring of ſweet muſick through the air:)
Here, as with honey gather'd from the rock,
She fed the little prattler, and with ſongs
Oft ſooth'd his wond'ring ears; with deep delight
On her ſoft lap he ſat, and caught the ſounds.

The Enthuſiaſt, or the Lover of Nature, a Poem, by the Rev. Joſeph Warton.

From the Rev. Thomas Warton's Addreſs to the Queen on her Marriage.

Here, boldly mark'd with every living hue,
Nature's unbounded portrait Shakſpeare drew:
But chief, the dreadful group of human woes
The daring artiſt's tragick pencil choſe;
Explor'd the pangs that rend the royal breaſt,
Thoſe wounds that lurk beneath the tiſſued veſt.

Monody, written near Stratford-upon-Avon.

Avon, thy rural views, thy paſtures wild,
The willows that o'erhang thy twilight edge,
Their boughs entangling with the embattled ſedge;
Thy brink with watery foliage quaintly fring'd,
Thy ſurface with reflected verdure ting'd;
Sooth me with many a penſive pleaſure mild.
But while I muſe, that here the Bard Divine
Whoſe ſacred duſt yon high-arch'd iſles incloſe,
Where the tall windows riſe in ſtately rows,
Above th' embowering ſhade,
Here firſt, at Fancy's fairy-circled ſhrine,
Of daiſies pied his infant offering made;

Here playful yet, in ſtripling years unripe,
Fram'd of thy reeds a ſhrill and artleſs pipe:
Sudden thy beauties, Avon, all are fled,
As at the waving of ſome magick wand;
An holy trance my charmed ſpirit wings,
And aweful ſhapes of leaders and of kings,
People the buſy mead,
Like ſpectres ſwarming to the wiſard's hall;
And ſlowly pace, and point with trembling hand
The wounds ill-cover'd by the purple pall.
Before me Pity ſeems to ſtand,
A weeping mourner, ſmote with anguiſh ſore,
To ſee Misfortune rend in frantick mood
His robe, with regal woes embroider'd o'er.
Pale Terror leads the viſionary band,
And ſternly ſhakes his ſceptre, dropping blood.

By the ſame.

Far from the ſun and ſummer gale,
In thy green lap was Nature's darling laid,
What time, where lucid Avon ſtray'd,
To him the mighty mother did unveil
Her awful face: The dauntleſs child
Stretch'd forth his little arms, and ſmil'd.
This pencil take (ſhe ſaid) whoſe colours clear
Richly paint the vernal year:
Thine too theſe golden keys, immortal boy!
This can unlock the gates of joy;
Of horror that, and thrilling fears,
Or ope the ſacred ſource of ſympathetick tears.[3]

Gray's Ode on the Progreſs of Poeſy.

[3] An ingenious perſon, who ſent Mr. Gray his remarks anonymouſly on this and the following Ode ſoon after they were publiſhed, gives this ſtanza and the following a very juſt and well-expreſſed eulogy: "A poet is perhaps never more conciliating than

Next Shakſpeare ſat, irregularly great,
And in his hand a magick rod did hold,
Which viſionary beings did create,
And turn the fouleſt droſs to pureſt gold:
Whatever ſpirits rove in earth or air,
Or bad, or good, obey his dread command;
To his beheſts theſe willingly repair,
Thoſe aw'd by terrors of his magick wand,
The which not all their powers united might withſtand.

Lloyd's Progreſs of Envy, 1751.

Oh, where's the bard, who at one view
Could look the whole creation through,
Who travers'd all the human heart,
Without recourſe to Grecian art?
He ſcorn'd the rules of imitation,
Of altering, pilfering, and tranſlation,
Nor painted horror, grief, or rage,
From models of a former age;
The bright original he took,
And tore the leaf from nature's book.
'Tis Shakſpeare.—

Lloyd's Shakeſpeare, a Poem.

when he praiſes favourite predeceſſors in his art. Milton is not more the pride than Shakſpeare the love of their country: It is therefore equally judicious to diffuſe a tenderneſs and a grace through the praiſe of Shakſpeare, as to extol in a ſtrain more elevated and ſonorous the boundleſs ſoarings of Milton's imagination." The critick has here well noted the beauty of contraſt which reſults from the two deſcriptions; yet it is further to be obſerved, to the honour of our poet's judgement, that the tenderneſs and grace in the former, does not prevent it from ſtrongly characteriſing the three capital perfections of Shakſpeare's genius; and when he deſcribes his power of exciting terror (a ſpecies of the ſublime) he ceaſes to be diffuſe, and becomes, as he ought to be, conciſe and energetical. MASON.

In the firſt ſeat, in robe of various dies
A noble wildneſs flaſhing from his eyes,
Sat Shakſpeare.—In one hand a wand he bore,
For mighty wonders fam'd in days of yore;
The other held a globe, which to his will
Obedient turn'd, and own'd a maſter's ſkill:
Things of the nobleſt kind his genius drew,
And look'd through nature at a ſingle view:
A looſe he gave to his unbounded ſoul,
And taught new lands to riſe, new ſeas to roll;
Call'd into being ſcenes unknown before,
And, paſſing nature's bounds, was ſomething more.

Churchill's Roſciad.

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